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# GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF TANTRISM

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## The Śaiva Age

— The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period —

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The early medieval period, from about the fifth century to the thirteenth, saw a decline in the role of Śrauta sacrifice in the religious ceremonies undertaken by Indian rulers. But it was not that kings turned aside from the brahmanical tradition in a fundamental sense. They continued to uphold the brahmanical social order of the castes and disciplines (*varṇāśramadharmāḥ*) and they were commonly commended in inscriptions from the fifth to the eighth centuries for having rigorously imposed it on their subjects. We see this in the case of the Maukhari Harivarman in the fifth century, the Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra of Vaṅga and the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṃkṣobha of Ḍabhālarāja in the sixth, the Puṣyabhūti Prabhākaravardhana of Kanyakubja, Bhāskaravarman of Prāgyotiṣa, the Maitraka Kharagraha II Dharmāditya of Valabhī, the Gūrjara Dadda III of Bharukaccha in the seventh, and the Licchavi Śivadeva of Nepal at the turn of the seventh and eighth.<sup>1</sup> The same claim is seen in the account of the

<sup>1</sup> CII 3, p. 220, ll. 1-2: *varṇāśramavyavasthāpanapraṇṭitacakraḥ* 'Harivarman, who set in motion the establishing of the distinctions between the caste-classes and disciplines'; RAJAGURU 1962, ll. 6-9: *varṇāśramavyavasthāhetuḥ* 'śāksād (corr. RAJAGURU: śāksad Ep.) dharma' *ivopāntajanmā* (corr.: *ivopāntajanmā* RAJAGURU) ... *paramamāheśvaro mahārājādhirājāśrigopacandra* 'Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra, entirely devoted to Śiva, who caused the distinctions between the caste-classes and disciplines to be established, as though he were Dharma incarnate'; EI 8:28, ll. 11-12: *varṇāśramadharmasthāparābhīratena* (Saṃkṣobha); EI 4:29, l. 3: *varṇāśramavyavasthāpanapraṇṭitacakraḥ* (Prabhākaravardhana); EI 12:13, ll. 34-35: *bhagavatā kamalasambhavenāvaktiṇavarṇāśramadharmapravibhāgāya nirmīto bhuvanapatir* 'King [Bhāskaravarman], created by Brahmā himself to separate the caste-classes and disciplines that had abandoned their duties'; CII 3, pp. 173ff., ll. 43-44: *śāksād dharma iva samyagvyavasthāpitavarṇāśramācārāḥ* 'Kharagraha II Dharmāditya, who established the observances of the caste-classes and disciplines, as though he were Dharma in visible form'; CII 4i:21, ll. 7-9: *mahāmunimanupraṇṭitapravacanādhigamavivēkasta-dharmānuṣṭhāna* 'pravīṇo (em. MIRASHI: pravāṇi Ep.) *varṇāśramavyavasthān-mūlitasakalakalikālavalepa* <h>' (Dadda III), who uprooted all the taints of this [degenerate] age of Kali by establishing the separation of the caste-classes and disciplines, well-versed in the execution of his duty [as the king] through discriminative understanding of the teachings authored by the great sage Manu'; LKA 140, ll. 1-2: *suvihitavarṇāśramasthītir licchavikulaketur* ... *mahārājādhirājāśrīśivadevaḥ* 'Mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva, war-banner of the Licchavi dynasty, who correctly established the system of the caste-classes and disciplines'; LKA 143, l. 1: *samyagviracitasakalavarṇāśramavyavasthāḥ* 'Śivadeva, who correctly fashioned the system of the distinct castes and disciplines'.



history of Kashmir before the advent of the Kārkoṭa dynasty in the seventh century given in the twelfth by the Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa. His chronology for this early phase of his country's history is confused, but it is likely that we should assign to the fifth or sixth century the king Gopāditya whom he commends for having restored the first and perfect Age through his regard for the castes and brahmanical disciplines.<sup>2</sup> He also reports a popular belief of his time that in order to promote the orthodox brahmanical social order the Hephthalite Mihirakula, who ruled Kashmir in the early sixth century, had settled natives of Āryadeśa in his kingdom, which was then, we are told, devoid of the true religion (*dharma*), being overrun by Dards and Tibetans.<sup>3</sup>

Seeing these claims of the royal imposition of the *varṇāśramadharmāḥ* one thinks of the non-geographical definition of territory fit for brahmanical rites (*yajñīyo deśaḥ*) formulated by Manu's commentator Medhātithi during the ninth or tenth century, namely that it is any land in which a conquering brahmanical king settles the four caste-classes and imposes on the rest of the population the status of untouchables (*caṇḍālāḥ*). This definition served, I propose, to accommodate the fact of the territorial expansion of brahmanical society into new regions that was one of salient features of the early medieval period.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Rājataranginī* 1.339: *jugopa gopādityo 'tha ksmām sadūpām tadātmajāḥ | varṇāśramapratyatekādāritādityugodayaḥ* 'Next his son Gopāditya protected the earth and its continents, causing men to experience the arising of a [new] First Age through his attention to [the maintenance of] the caste-classes and disciplines'.

<sup>3</sup> *Rājataranginī* 1.312-313b: *ākrañte dāradair bhautfair mlecchāir aśucikarmabhiḥ | vīṇāśādharmā deśe 'smīn 'punyāśārapravartane* (conj.: *pravartanam* Ed.) [*āryadeśīyān sa saṁsthāpya vyatānot dāruṇam tapaḥ*]. 'In order to (conj.) promote pious observance in this land that had been overrun by barbarians of impure conduct, Dards and Tibetans, and [so] had lost the [brahmanical] Dharma, he settled [brahmins] of Āryadeśa. Thereafter he performed a terrible penance'. STEIN (1979, p. 46), no doubt faithfully reproducing the reading of the *codex archetypus*, gives *punāśārapravartanam* rather than *punāśāpravaratane* and this leaves him no alternative other than to take not only *dāruṇam tapaḥ* but also this as the object of the verb: 'he performed a terrible penance, and re-established pious observances'. But the reading is unacceptable. For even if one can believe, as I cannot, that *punāśārapravartanam* *vyatānot* is not too inelegant an expression for an author of Kalhaṇa's calibre, there remains the fact that it requires us to believe also that *vyatānot* governs two objects even though the conjunction necessary for this interpretation is lacking. I have therefore emended to *punāśārapravartane*, which, taken as an instance of the use of the locative of purpose (*nimittasaptamī*), yields an entirely appropriate meaning and supposes a scribal error that is readily explained by the ease with which readers of the Kashmirian script can mistake *-a* for *-am*, the common substitute for *-am*. Furthermore, STEIN's rendering of *āryadeśīyān saṁsthāpya* as 'after killing the inhabitants of Āryadeśa' is, in my view, much less probable than the alternative adopted here, which is to take the verb form *saṁsthāpya* in its contextually more appropriate meaning, namely 'having settled'.

<sup>4</sup> See SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 400-401, citing Medhātithi, *Manusmṛtibhāṣya* p. 80,

Thus the first centuries of this period are presented in our sources as marked not by the decline of brahmanism but rather by its imposition, reinforcement, and expansion. Moreover, there is abundant epigraphical evidence of kings throughout this time bringing Vaidika brahmins into their kingdoms by making them grants of tax-exempt land,<sup>5</sup> thereby extending the penetration of brahmanical culture while facilitating the administration of their territories and promoting agricultural development.<sup>6</sup>

Nonetheless, while kings continued to accept their role as the guardians of the brahmanical order (*varṇāśramaguruḥ*), their personal religious commitment generally took the form of Buddhism, Jainism, or, more commonly, devotion to Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Sun-God (Sūrya/Āditya), or the Goddess (Bhagavati), the deities of the new initiatory religions, allegiances that were commonly declared in their inscriptions by the inclusion amid their royal titles of epithets that mean 'entirely

ll. 24-26 on 2.23: *yadi kathameid brahmavartādideśam api mlecchā ākrameyuh tatraiva <ca> <svadharma> vyavasthānam kuryuh bhaved evāsu mlecchadeśaḥ. tathā yadi kaś cit kṣatriyādijāto rājā sādhuśāraṇo mlecchān parājaye cāturvāryam vāsayaṃ mlecchāṁś cāryavarta iva cāṇḍālān vyavasthāpayet so 'pi syād yajñīyaḥ* 'If somehow foreigners were to invade such [pure] regions as that between the Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī rivers (Brahmāvarta) <and> impose <their religion?>, then even they would definitely become foreign lands [unfit for sacrifice]. By the same standard, if some king belonging to the Kṣatriya or other [suitable caste-class] and of orthodox [brahmanical] observance were to conquer foreigners [in their lands], settle communities of the four caste-classes [there], and impose on those foreigners the status of untouchables, just as in the brahmanical heartland of India north of the Vindhya (Āryavarta), then those territories too would be fit for the performance of [Vaidika] sacrifices'.

<sup>5</sup> On the duty of the king to donate (tax-free) land and other valuables to learned Vaidika brahmins (*viprah, śrotriyaḥ*) see, e.g., *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.315-320; 1.323: *nātha paratara dharmo nṛpaṇam yad raṇārjitaṃ | viprebhyo dyāte dravyam ...* 'There is no higher religious obligation for kings than that of bestowing the wealth they acquire through war on learned Vaidika brahmins ...'; *Viṣṇusmṛti* 3.81-82: *brāhmaṇebhyaś ca bhuvam pratipādayet ...* 'He should bestow land on brahmins'. On the king's duty not to tax learned Vaidikas see *Manusmṛti* 7.133ab: *mriyamāno 'py ādāta na rājā śrotiyāt karam* 'Even though dying [through poverty] a king may not levy a tax from a learned Vaidika'. The giving of land to learned brahmins is already advocated at length as the king's religious duty in the *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsanaparvan, Adhyāya* 61); and that passage includes an injunction that it should be read to the king immediately after his consecration (13.61.36: *abhiṣicāiva nṛpatim śrāveyed imam āgamaṃ*).

<sup>6</sup> For a study of land-grants to brahmins (*brahmadeyam, agraḥāra, śāsanam*) during our period in a particular region, Orissa and northern Andhra Pradesh, see SINGH 1994, pp. 123-243. For the same in the Far South in Pallava and Cola times see KARASHIMA 1984, especially pp. 3, 36-40, and 129; and STEIN 1994, especially pp. 63-69 and 141-172. The migration of groups of north-Indian Vaidika brahmins as recipients of royal grants is the subject of DATTA 1959. See also DATTA 1995, pp. 97-118 on the practice and implications of land-grants to brahmins in northern India c. 400-700.



devoted' to the founder or deity of whichever of these religions they favoured.

## THE DOMINANCE OF ŚAIVISM

Among these alternatives devotion to Śiva was the most commonly adopted. During this period the epithet *paramamāheśvaraḥ* 'entirely devoted to Śiva' is the most frequently encountered in declarations of the religious adherence of rulers;<sup>7</sup> and of the many temples surviving or reported in inscriptions that were established by rulers and other notables from the late sixth century onwards in the subcontinent, the Khmer realm, the Cham kingdoms of Indo-China, and the kingdoms of Java and Bali, those dedicated to the worship of this god are much the most numerous.<sup>8</sup>

The preponderance of Śaivism during this period is also revealed by evidence that all the other religious traditions competing for patronage were colonized or

<sup>7</sup> The royal epithet *paramamāheśvaraḥ* first appears in the epigraphical record in the fourth century in Andhra, in an inscription of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Devavarman of Veṅṅipura (*EI* 9:7, ll. 1–7), probably the earliest of the Śālaṅkāyanas in our records since this inscription alone is in Prakrit: *sirvijayaveṅṅipurā bhagavato cittarathasāmpādānujñāhāssa bappabhaṭṭāṭṭarākapādābhāttasya paramamāheśvaraḥ śālaṅkāyanassa asamedhayājino mahārājāsirvijayadevavammassa vayanena ...* 'From victorious Veṅṅipura: by the command of the Śālaṅkāyana, who has performed the Āsvamedha sacrifice, the venerable Mahārāja Vijayadevarman, favoured by [his *kuladevatā*, the Śiva] Cītrathasvāmin, loyal to [his] venerable father, entirely devoted to Śiva ...'. It is mostly found in inscriptions but occasionally appears on coinage. Thus the coins of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Kalacuri king of Māhishmati, who ruled c. 650–675, have on their reverse, (with corrected orthography): *p-paramamāheśvara mātēpitṭpādānudyātā śrīkṛṣṇarāja* (MIRASII, *CII* 4i p. cxxx). This is the standard term, as is confirmed by its use in literary sources. But we also find the synonym *atyantamāheśvaraḥ* (e.g. *CII* 5:3, l. 8: *Vēlāṭṭaṭṭe Pṛthivīsena I*, late fourth century), and, though very rarely and not to my knowledge in any inscription, *paramasāivaḥ* (PETECH 1984, pp. 67 and 61: the twelfth-century Nepalese kings Indradeva and Ānandadeva in the colophons of manuscripts). That the Tuddhita *māheśvaraḥ* is to be understood as formed from the name *Maheśvara* in the meaning 'devoted to Maheśvara' (*maheśvarabhaktāḥ*), i.e. 'devoted to Śiva', is proved beyond doubt by the occurrence in inscriptions of analytic renderings of parallel terms. Thus where the affiliation is with Viṣṇu (*Bhagavat*) we see not only *paramabhāgavataḥ* but also *param bhagavadbhaktāḥ* and in the case of the Sun-god (*Sūrya/Āditya*) we see both *paramasaurāḥ* and *paramādityabhaktāḥ*. And there are some cases in which the name of the deity precludes any but the analytic form. Thus where the deity is the Goddess or Mahābhairava we see *param bhagavatibhaktāḥ* and *atyantasvāmimāhābhairavabhaktāḥ*. For all these epithets see MIRASII *CII* 3, pp. 253–254, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> This can readily be observed by perusing the published volumes of *EITA*. On the pre-eminence of Śaivism among the Khmers up to the fall of Angkor see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 402–421. For the situation in Karnataka, where Śaiva foundations greatly outnumbered others throughout the period from the fifth to fourteenth centuries see p. 298. For Kashmir see p. 298, and for Andhra see p. 300.

profoundly influenced by it. In the first part of this study I shall present this evidence for each religion in turn, but with particular attention to Buddhism. In the second I shall attempt to explain the factors that enabled Śaivism to attain this dominant position.

## THE INCORPORATION OF ŚĀKTISM

The worship of the Goddess was progressively subsumed within Śaivism, being promoted by its adherents as a higher form of that religion.<sup>9</sup> The Śaiva mainstream was, as one might expect, focused on Śiva. This is so in the earliest forms of the religion, which later Śaivas would call the *Ātimārga*, practised by such Śaiva ascetics as the Pāñcārthikas, Lākulas, and Somasiddhāntins, and it continued to be so in the Siddhānta, the core tradition of the Mantramārga that emerged out of the Ātimārga from about the fifth century onwards, first in the corpus of *Nisūsa* scriptures<sup>10</sup> and then in a number of others, notable among which are the *Pārameśvara* (*Paṣkarapārameśvara*), the *Śvāyambhuvastūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Mataṅga-pārameśvara*, the *Sarvajñānottara*, the *Kālotara* in a number of redactions, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Parākhyā*, the *Mrgendra*, the *Bṛhalkālotara*, the *Mayasaṃgraha*, the *Devāmata*, and the *Mohacūḍottara*, the last three representing a sub-corpus of texts of more restricted application concerned with the rituals of the installation of images and the consecration of temples, an area in which officials of the Siddhānta were the dominant operatives. But as this Saiddhāntika core grew it was progressively surrounded by a diverse array of related liturgical systems for the propitiation of various forms of the ferocious deity Bhairava, seen by his devotees as a higher, more esoteric manifestation of Śiva, and of forms of the Goddess seen as embodiments of Śiva's divine power (*śaktiḥ*). The Śaiva scriptures devoted to the cult of Bhairava came to be known collectively as the Mantrapīṭha or Mantra Corpus, headed by the *Svachchandatantra*, which teaches the cult of Svachchandabhairava and his consort Aghoreśvari, and the earlier among those devoted to cults of Goddesses as the Vidyāpīṭha or Vidyā Corpus,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> On the Śākta elements in Śaivism see SANDERSON 1988, 1995a, and 2007a.

<sup>10</sup> On the transitional character of the *Nisūsa* between the Lākula Ātimārga and the mature Siddhānta see SANDERSON 2006, and 2001, pp. 29–31, fn. 32. On the probable date of its earliest part see GOODALL and ISAACSON 2007.

<sup>11</sup> For the use of the term *pīṭham* in this context in the meaning 'corpus' or 'collection' see *Tantrāloka* 37.18c–19c1, quoting or paraphrasing the lost *Ānandaśāstra*: *śrīmadānandaśāstrādaḥ proktaḥ bhagavatā kila || samūhaḥ pīṭham etac ca dvīdha dakṣiṇavāmataḥ | mantrō vidyēt |* 'The Lord has taught in such scriptures as the *Ānanda* that *pīṭham* [here means] the corpus [of the non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva scriptures]. It is divided into two, to the right and left [respectively], namely the



headed by (1) the *Jayadrathayāmala*, also known as the *Śraścheda*, consisting of four parts called hexads (*ṣaṭka*) because each is approximately six thousand verses in length, which teaches the cult of Kālasaṃkaraṇī or Kālī in the first and those of numerous goddesses worshipped as her esoteric embodiments in the remaining three parts, evidently added at a later date—closely related to parts of this huge corpus are the scriptures of the Kālikula, *Kālikulakrama-sadbhāva*, *Kālikulapañcasāṭaka* and others, that were the scriptural basis of the Kālikula Kālī cult known as the Krama, Mahānaya, or Mahārtha—, (2) the *Siddhayaogēśvarīmata*, which teaches the cult of the goddesses Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā, to which the *Mālinīvijayottara* is related, the scripture taken as the foundation of the Trika variant of Śākta Śaivism expounded in the *Tantrāloka* of the great Kashmirian Śaiva Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1025), (3) the *Picumata* or *Brahmayāmala*, which teaches the cult of the goddess Caṇḍī Kāpālīnī and numerous related Kalpas, and (4) the texts of the *vāmasrotah*, of which only the *Vīrāṣikha* has come down to us intact, which teach the cult of the four goddesses Jayā, Vīṣayā, Jayantī/Ajītā, and Aparājītā, the sisters of the god Tumburu, venerated as an aspect of Śiva.<sup>12</sup>

Mantra[piṭha] and the Vidyāpiṭha. The terms 'right' and 'left' assigned to the two Piṭhas follow the common notion that these are the relative positions of the male/masculine and female/feminine, Mantras being masculine and the deities they embody male and Vidyās being feminine and their deities female.

<sup>12</sup> The distinction in terms of left and right between the two Piṭhas in the passage of the *Ānanda* cited in the preceding footnote must not be confused with that between the right current (*dakṣiṇasrotah*) and the left current (*vāmasrotah*) of the Śaiva scriptures, which derives from the fact that these are thought to have emerged from the right and left faces of the five-faced composite Sadāśiva, those of Aghora (Bhīrava) and the feminine Vāmadeva respectively. For of the texts of the two Piṭhas only those of the cult of the four sisters are assigned to the latter. The *Siddhayaogēśvarīmata* and the *Picumata* are both assigned to the former, while according to itself the first *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* is a hybrid of both (*ubhayātmakam*); see SANDERSON 2002, pp. 1–2. Of the other three faces the front and rear, the faces of Tūtpurūṣa and Sadyojāta, are seen as the source of the Gāruḍatantras and Bhūtatantras, texts concerned respectively with procedures for the curing of the effects of poisons and demonic possession, while the upper face, that of Iśāna, is seen as the source of the scriptures of the Siddhānta, revealing that this, unlike the distinction between the two Piṭhas, is a Siddhānta-centric system of classification. It is adapted by the non-Siddhāntika Abhinavagupta as the basis of his esoteric account of the nature of the Śaiva canon in the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* but only by adding a sixth, upper-upper current (*ūrdhvārdrhasrotah*) above the Siddhānta as the source of the non-dualistic Kaula (Śākta) revelation that he takes to be the ultimate ground of the entire canon. *Mālinīvijayavārtika* 1.160–163b: prakṛtaṃ brāhmaṇa devatāśreṣṭhā citrasamvidāḥ | yāvat tāvat tad ūrdhvārdrhaṃ srotā yad bhavedarjitaḥ || 161 saurabhargavikṣādini tatāḥ śāstrāni tenire | uktaḥ bhargavikṣāyā ca devata paramēṣṭhiṇā || 162 ūrdhvasrotodbhavaṃ jñānam idam tat paramaṃ priya | paramadhyānārdrhāvrotasameidrūpābhīdhāyina ||

To these we may add the scriptures of two later Śākta cults, those of the goddesses Kubjikā and Tripurasundarī. The scriptures of the former, the *Kubjikāmata* and related texts such as the *Ṣaṭśāhasra*, do not claim to be part of the Vidyāpiṭha. But they are closely related to, and draw heavily on, the sub-corpus of texts within the Vidyāpiṭha that is headed by the *Siddhayaogēśvarīmata* and is associated with the Śākta system that would be developed under the name of the Trika: the *Siddhayaogēśvarīmata* itself, the *(Trika)kularatnamālā*, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *Devayāmala*, and the *Trīśirobhairava*. Also allied in character is the *Nityāśoḍaśikārnava* or *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the fundamental scripture of the cult of the goddess Tripurasundarī. This, which became the most widely established of India's Śākta cults, has no direct antecedents in the Vidyāpiṭha literature, but is rather an independent development out of an earlier Śākta tradition of the propitiation of goddesses known as the Nityās in which rites for success in love predominated.<sup>13</sup> This early cult was eclipsed by its

*Iśānavaktrānirṇātāṭ siddhāntād bhedam ādiṣat* 'I shall return now to the matter in hand. The nondualistic upper-upper stream is present when the various modes of consciousness are [still] in the state of [primal] emission within the Goddess [Parā]. From this [state of fusion] are created the *Saurabhargavikṣā* and other such [nondualistic (Kaula) scriptures]. And the Supreme Lord has spoken [to this effect] in the *Bhargavikṣā* [itself], saying, "This knowledge, O beloved, is the supreme product of the upper face". By using the word supreme [here] in reference to the nature of the consciousness that has arisen from this upper [face] he shows that he means something different from [and superior to] the Siddhānta, which has come forth from the face of Iśāna'.

<sup>13</sup> The distinctness of this tradition is expressed in the *Kumārīkhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairava* in an account of the hierarchy of the various soteriologies. It places those who follow the scripture(s) of the Nityās above those of the Atimārgic traditions (Mausula, Vaimala, Lākula) and below those of the Bhairava corpus comprising the scriptures of the left and right currents. Above this it places six Śākta Tantras (*paraṣaṭkam*): three of the Trika (*Ṣaṭārtha* [= *Mālinīvijayottara*], *Bhairava/kula*), and *Vīrāṣat*, then the *Kālikula* [texts] of the Krama, and finally itself, in two scriptural levels. It is significant that it does not put the Nityā cult on the level of its Śākta Tantras or even on that of the Bhairavatantras below them; see f. 213r3–7 (*Muktisamgrahasūtra*, vv. 108–114c): \*musulāyudhahastānām (em.: musulāyudhahastānām Cod.) māyātattvaṃ param padam | siddhahajñānamāyā vidyā vaimalānām param padam || 109 aṣṭapramāṇavedajñā lakulārharīśāradaḥ | vrate pāsupate caiva aīṣṭaram paramaṃ padam || 110 navanīyāgamaññānām śivatattvaṃ param padam | tasyordhve \*kāraṇān (em.: kāraṇāḥ Cod.) pañca tyaktvā ūrdhvaṃ tu bhairavaḥ || 111 \*śāṣṭatantratāntrikānām (?) nityānandam param padam | samanāntakālāzitaṃ vāmadakṣiṇasamsthitaṃ || 112 panktikrameṇa mokṣo 'sti satyaṃ nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ | tasya ūrdhve paraṣaṭkam uparī uparī samsthitaṃ || 113 ṣaḍārham prathamam bhedam bheiravākhyam dūtīyakam | vīrāvalī trīṭyaṃ tu caturtham kālikakulam || 114 tatas te ādyāvātaram tu tasya ūrdhvaṃ anāhatam | śrīmatkulālikākhyam The final destination of the (Mausula Pāsupatas), those who carry a club in their hands, is Māyātattva. That of the Vaimala [pāsupata]s is Siddhavidyā [tattva]. For those who are versed in the Lākula [pāsupata] doctrine,



much more successful successor. But nonetheless evidence of it has survived, attesting two forms. One is taught in the *Nityākaula*, of which a single, incomplete manuscript has come down to us in Nepal. Here the goddess Tripurā is surrounded by a circle of twelve deities comprising eleven Nityā goddesses and Kāmadeva, the Indian Cupid.<sup>14</sup> The other has been preserved in the eclectic *Manthānabhairava*, whose *Siddhakhaṇḍa* contains detailed manual-like instructions for a Śākta cult of Tripurā and nine Nityās with Kāmadeva as her consort.<sup>15</sup> The earlier prominence of the Nityā cult is indicated by the fact that a syncretistic text of the cult of Kubjikā, the \**Cīñcīṇmatasārasamuccaya*, contains a section drawn from the *Nityākaula*, or from some lost text closely related to it, in which it sets out this cult as the 'teaching of the southern or-

mastering the eight *Pramāṇa* scriptures, and for [those, the Pāñcārthikapāsupatas, who engage] in the Pāsupata observance, it is [the Tatva] of Īśvara. For those versed in the scriptural tradition of the Nine Nityās it is Śivatattva. Above that is Bhairava, transcending [all] the five Causes: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, and Sādāśiva. This, eternal bliss, is the final destination of the Tāntrikas of the Tantras of the eight [Bhairavas] [v. 132: the *Niṣkala-Svacechandabhairava*, the *Sakala-Svacechandabhairava*, the *Bahurūpabhairava*, the *Aghorīśabhairava*, the *Vyādhibhākṣabhairava*, the *Candragarbhabhairava*, the *Vijānābhairava*, the *Tumburubhairava* (perhaps = the *Vindāśikha*), and the *Amṛteśvarabhairava* (= *Netratantṛa*). It is beyond the [universe] that culminates in Samānā and is established in [the two divisions of the Bhairavatāntṛas, those of] the left [current (*vāmasrotah*)] and [those of] the right [*dakṣiṇasrotah*]. The truth—there is no [room for] doubt in this matter—is that liberation is [attained in each these systems but] in the manner of ascending a ladder. Above that are the six ascending [divisions of the scriptures] of Parā. The first division is the *Sādhya* (= *Mālinīvijaya*, vv. 125a and 133cd), the second the *Bhairava[kula]* (= *Klīnānvayayoga*, v. 134a), the third the *Vīraśakti* (= *Vīraśaktikūlmānāya*, v. 134c), and the fourth the *Kālikula* [scriptures] (= *Kālikākrama*, v. 134d). Above this is the *Ādyavātāra* [of the Pāścimāmnāya], and above that the Anāhata [revelation] called *Kulāṭikā[mnāya]*. It is striking that this passage omits the Saiddhāntikas. It is therefore likely that the text has lost a line or verse here. This suspicion is strengthened by the verses that follow. For in these the order of systems is repeated with *śaivism*, i.e. the Siddhānta's scriptures, between the *pāsupatam* and the eight Bhairavatāntṛas (v. 128bcd: *tathā pāsupatam mahat | śaivism tasya viśeṣam tu bhairavāṣṭakanirṇayam*). Since the passage also omits Sādāśivatattva it is probable that it was this level that was assigned to the Saiddhāntika system in the lost line or verse. To assign the Saiddhāntikas to Sādāśivatattva would, of course, be to disdain their claim that their *paraṃ padam* is in fact Śivatattva.

<sup>14</sup> The eleven Nityās of this text are Hṛlekhā, Kledinī, Nandā, Kṣobhanī, Madanātūrā, Nirāṇajā, Rūgavatī, Madanāvatī, Khekalā, Drāvaṇī and Vegavatī; see *Nityākaula*, f. 2r7–2v1.

<sup>15</sup> *Manthānabhairava*, *Siddhakhaṇḍa*, ff. 186v–231r1. The nine Nityās are Kulavidyā, Vajreśvari, Tvaritā, Kurukullā, Lalitā, Bheruṇḍā, Nilapatākā, Maṅgalā and Vyomavāpini. The section on Tripurā continues to f. 252v and includes the text of the *Nityāḥṣaṣṭikārpava*. The folio numbers are those of a palm-leaf manuscript in private hands, to which I have had access through digital images kindly provided by my former pupil and present colleague Dr. Somdev Vasudeva.

der' (*dakṣiṇagharāmnāya*), grouping it with the cult of Kubjikā, the cult of Kālī (Kālikula) in a form attested in the *Jayadrathayāmala* and the related corpus of the scriptures of the Krama or Mahānaya, and a form of Śākta worship agreeing closely with that found in the Trika, calling these the teachings of the western, northern, and eastern orders respectively (*Pāścimagharāmnāya*, *Uttaragharāmnāya*, and *Pūrvagharāmnāya*).

The Śāktism of this tetradic scheme of the directional Āmnāyas can be distinguished broadly from the earlier Śāktism of the Vidyāpīṭha by a marked tendency to expurgate one of the most conspicuous features of the latter, namely its embeddedness in the intensely transgressive tradition of Kāpālika asceticism whose roots lie in the Somasiddhāntin division of the Atimārga. Since the Śāktism of the Āmnāyas refers to itself as Kaula we may use this term to designate these post-Kāpālika developments. However, like most terms applied to traditions subject to change through time it serves at best to indicate a tendency rather than an absolute distinction. For while the cults of Tripurasundarī and Kubjikā adhered to this mode of self-definition and the Trika that developed out of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* also came to do so,<sup>16</sup> the cult of Kālī that came to constitute the Kaulas' Northern Teaching (*uttarāmnāya*) remained both Kaula in its self-definition and firmly Kāpālika in its practise.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> On the anti-Kāpālika stance of the mature Trika see SANDERSON 2005c, pp. 118–119, fn. 74.

<sup>17</sup> For the Kāpālika/Mahāvratin asceticism of practitioners of the Uttarāmnāya, that is to say of the Kālikula and Krama/Mahānaya, see SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 293–294 (Cakrabhānu, Īśānī, and Jaiyaka), 323 (Cakrapāṇinātha, author of the *Bhāvopahārasūtra*). Concerning the date of Cakrapāṇinātha I was able to say in 2007a (p. 417) only that he was earlier than his commentator Rāmyadeva, who was later than Kṣemārāja, which is to say, next to nothing. However, since then I have read a Nepalese manuscript, NGMPP C114/22, which contains his *Bhāvopahārasūtra* under the title *Bhāvopahārapāṭya*, and this enables us to include him among relatively early authors, since the manuscript is dated in 1158/9. To the Kashmirian exponents of the Krama identified as followers of the Kāpālika observance in 2007a I now propose to add one more. According to a manuscript of the *Chummasaṃketaparakāśa* that I had not seen at that time, which contains the final verses of the work that are lacking in the one manuscript that I had seen then, the redactor of this text attributed to Niṣkriyānanda was one Anantaśakti. He is described there as *mudrādharaḥ* (A, f. 11r7–9): *samsārasaṃbhramacayaprabhūgābandhasaṃbandhasaṃkṣaya* | *gatiḥ* (em. : *gater* Cod.) *aukalpamūrtiḥ* | *sāksād anābiladhīyā laghuvākkhrameṇa mudrādharaḥ tu vidadhe tad anantaśaktiḥ*. This expression I take to have the same meaning as *pañcamudrādharaḥ* 'wearer of the five secret marks' [of the Kāpālika/Mahāvratin]; see, e.g., *Ścāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, Paṭala 14 (*śaṣṭasamāyabhedah*), one of the chapters that is not part of the original work of this name, vv. 19–20: *caturdaśapramāṇena yuktaṃ kapaḥam ucye | kapaḥ ca vrataṃ mukhyaṃ sarvapāṇikrīṇṇanam | tasmīn vrataṃ carv yas tu ṣaṃmāśān muktim āpnuyāt | pañcamudrādharaḥ śāntaḥ samāyācārapālakaḥ*; and *Kubjikāmata*



In general we may say that these non-Saiddhāntika texts with their strongly Śākta orientation emerged after the Siddhānta or at least after the emergence of its earliest scriptures. Thus, for example, it is clear in my view that the *Stacchandatantra* was redacted after the formation of the Saiddhāntika *Nāḍasa* corpus, the *Tantrasadbhāva* after the *Stacchanda*, the *Kubjikāmata* after the *Tantrasadbhāva*,<sup>18</sup> the first hexad of the *Jayadrathayāmala* after the *Kubjikāmata*,<sup>19</sup> and the remaining three hexads after the first.<sup>20</sup> However, I see no reason to conclude that all that is found in the non-Saiddhāntika corpus is post-Saiddhāntika and some grounds for thinking that some elements may be as old or older. This may be the case with the cult of the four sisters of Tumburu. For that is known to the Buddhist Dharmakīrti (fl. c. 550–650),<sup>21</sup> and the first two folios of a post-scriptural text on this cult, the \**Devitantrasadbhāvasāra*, written in learned style in the Āryā metre, have survived among the Buddhist manuscripts uncovered in Gilgit in 1931. They may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to around the middle of the sixth century.<sup>22</sup> A second area

of the non-Saiddhāntika canon that is likely to be very early in origin is that of the Yāmala tantras assigned to the Vidyāpīṭha, represented in our surviving manuscripts by the 12000-verse *Picumata*, also called the *Brahmayāmala*. For the *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākhanda*, whose earliest surviving manuscript was completed in 810, lists seven Yāmala texts, beginning with the *Brahmayāmala*, as Tantras of the Mother Goddesses (*mātṛtantrāṇi*).<sup>23</sup> The date of the text itself is still a matter of debate; but it is unlikely to have been composed later than the end of the seventh century or earlier than the sixth.<sup>24</sup> It is certainly

<sup>18</sup> 23.31cd: *pañcamudrādhara tūpi bhāṣanīṣṭha digambaraḥ*. He is probably one with the Anantaśakti who wrote the translated commentary on the *Krama's Vāṭalāṇḍhasūtra* but probably not with the Anantaśakti who has left us a commentary (*Vijayapadaśaṅkha*), as yet unpublished, on the *Bahurūpagaṛbhastotra*; see SANDERSON 2007a, p. 344.

<sup>19</sup> See the evidence for this sequence in SANDERSON 2001, pp. 20–35.

<sup>20</sup> See SANDERSON 2002, p. 1 and note 4 on p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> See SANDERSON 2002, p. 2 and note 13 on p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> See SANDERSON 2001, pp. 11–13, fn. 10.

<sup>23</sup> No title appears in the surviving fragment of this text. The title assigned here is a guess based on the unknown author's description of his work in verses 3 and 4. There he says that he is extracting the fundamentals (*sārāṅ*) of the Essence of the Tantras (*tantrasadbhāva*) of the [four] Goddesses (*devīnām*) that had been received from Śiva by a sage identified only as the ornament of the lineage of Atri: 3 *ātriyavansatīlakenoktam sārāṅ evāpya yat pūrvaṃ | suramunīnārāsurāpūjā devīnām tantrasadbhāvaṃ || 4 tasmād aham apy adhunā vakṣye saṃhṛitya sūtram āryabhūḥ | spāṣṭatārāṅgarapanktibhir evāśīladhiyām \*prabodhāya* (em.: *pravodhāya* Cod.) 'The Essence of the Tantras of the Goddesses was received of old from Śiva by the ornament of the lineage of Atri and taught to the gods, sages, men, and titans. I in turn have summarized its fundamentals and shall now declare them in Ārya verses whose lines of syllables will be completely clear in meaning, for the instruction of those of modest intellect'. The script is the stage of Proto-Sūradā that Prof. Lore SANDER has called Gilgit/Bamiyan type 2 and also Sonderschrift 1. I stumbled upon the first folio (3221–3222) while searching the facsimiles of the Gilgit manuscripts for proto-Tantric Buddhist materials and communicated this unexpected discovery to Somdev VASUDEVA, then my student, who promptly located the second folio (3340–3341) and presented convincing palaeographical arguments for the date of the manuscript proposed here (email of 7.12.2000), pointing to the presence of the archaic tripartite *ya* ligature, the occurrence of the old style of *hr*, and the Gupta style *ra*. The text teaches the Mantras of the four Devis, who, it says, were made manifest at the beginning of creation so that men could attain supernat-

ural accomplishments and liberation (v. 11cd: *prūdurbhūta devyāḥ siddhyartham muktaye caiva*), their ancillaries (*angamantrāḥ*), their retinue of [four] Dūṭis and [four] Kinkaras (v. 16bc: *dūṭyas sakinkarā-cha*), Tumburu (v. 17ab: *prapañcam tumburusahitam sārthavahā +*), and the Ankuśa (v. 18bc: *saprañcam HÜM-PHAṬ-viniyuktam ankuśam etat*). The *Vināśikha*, our only complete surviving Tantra of the *vāmasrotah*, teaches the four Devis (vv. 30c–32b), Tumburu (vv. 29c–30b), and the Ankuśa (v. 41d etc.), but not the Dūṭis or Kinkaras. For the fuller pantheon see, e.g., *Devīyāmala*, f. 40r1: *jayā ca vijayā caiva jayanti cāparājita | dātubhiḥ kinkaraḥ sārtham saṃvṛtas \*tumburūḥ* (corr.: *tumburūḥ* Cod.) *sthitaḥ*; *Netraṇṭara* 11.1–27; and *Sāradātīaka* 19.87–105b and *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* 23.37–52 (with the four Dūṭis but without the Kinkaras). The expression *sārthavahāḥ* 'the [international] trader' in v. 17b (v. 17ab: *prapañcam tumburusahitam sārthavahā +*) no doubt refers to Tumburu, who is so described in the Buddhist version of this cult taught in the *Mañjuśrīyāmala* (47.29b, 52a, 54c, p. 413, l. 12, etc.). According to that source the four sisters and Tumburu are to be depicted sailing in a ship with Tumburu at the helm (47.24: *navyānasamārūdhā-cha sabhāṭṛasahapañcamā-cha | karnadhāro \*rthacit* (tentative conj.: \**rthacit* Ed.) *tāsām \*tumburunāmasaṃjñitāḥ* (em.: *tumburur nāma saṃjñitāḥ* Ed.). See also here p. 130. This depiction is also prescribed in the Śaiva *Pañcālāmā*, f. 28v5–6 (*Citrādhikāra*, v. 35): *jayādyās cakragas tadat pāṅktisthā vā likhet | kramāt nāvārūdhās ca vā likhyās tumburūḥ karnadhāraḥ* 'He should depict Jayā, Vijayā, Jayanti, and [Aparājita] forming a circle or in a line. Alternatively he may depict them on board a ship with Tumburu as the helmsman'. For the early date of this cult see also here p. 129.

<sup>24</sup> See SANDERSON 2001, pp. 6–7, fn. 4 and here p. 229 (171.127–130b) and a discussion of the titles it contains. The oldest manuscript is dated in the year 234. For this date and its equivalence to A.D. 810 see ADRIANSEN, BAKKER and ISAACSON 1994, p. 326. That the era of the date is that of the Licchavi Mānadeva (=Aṃśuvarman) was first proposed by WITZEL (1986, p. 256, n. 9). The date of the commencement of this unnamed era which is seen in Nepalese inscriptions that begin during the reign of the Nepalese king Mānadeva was determined to fall in A.D. 576 on the basis of Tibetan evidence by Luciano PETECH (1961). Previously it had been assumed that the era was that of Hārṣa (A.D. 606).

<sup>25</sup> YUKO YOKOCHI has observed (1999a, pp. 81–82) that the icon of the goddess Mahāśūramardini seen in texts of the sixth and seventh centuries gives way to a new iconic type around the beginning of the eighth century and that this text belongs with the earlier sources in this regard. The same scholar has shown (1999b, pp. 68–75) that the description of Mahāśūramardini in 68.10–23 of the text corresponds most closely to the image of Mahāśūramardini from Siddhi-ki-Guphā at Deogarh, an example of her Gupta subtype B2. She argues that this was carved in the middle of the sixth century or, at the latest, at its end (pp. 74–75). So, she concludes, 'the possibility that the text belongs to the same century can no longer



striking in this regard that it betrays no knowledge of the Siddhānta, its Śaivism being Atimārgic,<sup>25</sup> a circumstance which supports the hypothesis that the polarity seen in the Mantramārga between Śaivism and Śākta Śaivism was already present in some form when the former was still in the Atimārga stage.<sup>26</sup> Royal devotion to Bhairava certainly goes back before the Siddhānta's emergence, being attributed in Vākāṭaka inscriptions to Rudrasena I, who ruled c. 335-c. 360,<sup>27</sup> and a copperplate decree issued by Mahārāja Bhulūṇa in 376 from Bagh (Valkhā) in Madhya Pradesh records a grant made to support the worship of the Mothers in a temple of those deities established by an officiant of the Atimārga, the Pāsupatācārya Bhagavat Lokodadhi.<sup>28</sup>

In the light of this evidence that Śāktism was extensively incorporated into and developed within Śaivism it should not be surprising to discover that in spite of the prevalence of the worship of the Goddess in early medieval India kings identified in inscriptions as devotees of the Goddess (*bhagavatibhaktah*) rather than Śiva are very rare. At present I am aware only of Nāgabhaṭṭa, Bhoja, and his successor Mahipāla I in the ninth century among the Gūjara-Pratihāras of Kanyakubja.<sup>29</sup>

Royal devotion to a goddess, typically as a dynasty's lineage deity (*kuladevī*, *vaṃśadevī*, *gotradevī*), was very common during our period, and such deities are often declared in inscriptions to be the source of a king's sovereignty and martial might.<sup>30</sup> But this was not sufficient to mark out kings who worshipped such goddesses as Śāktas. For such worship was common regardless of a king's reli-

be repudiated" (p. 75). The Gupta type, in one subtype or another, was popular from the 5th century to the 8th.

<sup>25</sup> The *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākhanda* is not a text of the Atimārga in the sense that it was written for initiates in one of its systems. For since it is a Purāṇa its target audience is the uninitiated laity. However, the Śaivism that it draws on is Pāsupata rather than Mantramārgic. This Atimārgic background is conspicuous throughout the text; but see particularly Adhyāyās 174–183.

<sup>26</sup> Hypothesis first proposed in SANDERSON 1988, p. 667.

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., the Tiroḍī plates of Pravarasena II, r. c. 400–c. 450, *CII* 5:11, ll. 3–6: *atyantasvāmimāhābhairavabhaktasya ... mahārājāśrīrudrasenasya*. The same formula appears in all the other surviving copper-plates of this king that are complete at this point (*CII* 5:1, 4, 6–7, 10, 13–14, 18). For these approximate regnal dates of Rudrasena I I am following BAKKER 1997, p. 169.

<sup>28</sup> RAMESH and TEWARI 1990:10, ll. 2–6: *bhagavallokodadhipāsupatācāryapratisthāpitakapīṭhikānakagrāmamātrsthānadevokulasya pīṭhikānakam eva grāmaṃ saha bhadrādattavāṭakagrāmavāṭakacchena devagrāhāramāṭṭrāṇi* balicarusaṭṭradhūpagaṇḍhapuspamālyopayayabhagāya ...

<sup>29</sup> *EI* 14:13, ll. 6, 7, 7–8: *param bhagavatibhaktō mahārājāśrīnāgabhaṭṭadevas ... param bhagavatibhaktō mahārājāśrībhojadevas ... param bhagavatibhaktō mahārājāśrīmahendrapāladevas ...*

<sup>30</sup> For some examples see SANDERSON 2007b, pp. 288–290.

gious affiliation, and it was in any case inconstant, coming to the fore only on certain occasions, particularly during the autumnal Navarātra festival that inaugurates the season of military activity, when they and associated goddesses received large-scale animal sacrifices;<sup>31</sup> and when this cult was particularly emphasized through the forging of connections with a higher domain of non-periodic, exclusive devotion, then this domain was that of the esoteric goddesses of the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha.<sup>32</sup>

#### THE ETIOLATION AND SUBSUMPTION OF THE CULT OF THE SUN-GOD

As for the cult of the Sun, kings who have been declared in inscriptions to be devotees of this god (*paramasaurah*, *paramādityabhaktah*, and the like) are also few and they are mostly confined to the sixth and seventh centuries. We have Dharmarāja of Padmakholi in the Ganjam District of Orissa, Dharapaṭṭa, the Maitraka of Valabhi, Rājyavardhana, Ādityavardhana, and Prabhākara-vardhana, the three successive predecessors of King Harṣa of Kanyakubja, in the sixth century, and from c. 570 to c. 665 the Gūjara feud-

<sup>31</sup> On Navarātra see SANDERSON 2005a, p. 371 (fn. 64); 2005b, pp. 255–257; 2007b, pp. 263–277 and 294 (fn. 196). For an example of the scale of such annual sacrifices see p. 247 below.

<sup>32</sup> In general we may say that the Śaivism of the Mantramārga holds itself aloof from the domain of calendrical religion, seeing the recurrent festivals of that domain as commemorations of mythic events and therefore as operating on a level of mundane belief that initiates must transcend. That is the territory of Purāṇic religion, which guarantees various rewards but not the liberation or supernatural effects and powers promised to observant initiates into the Mantramārga. Śaiva initiates were merely required to track the Purāṇic calendar by intensifying their own regular cult on days when uninitiated devotees were celebrating Śiva's or the Goddess' activities in the domain of myth-based devotion; see, e.g., *Tantrāloka* vi.1.1 on 28.62–7b. Nonetheless, we see a distinct tendency for the Mantramārga to seep downwards into this domain providing Śaiva or Śākta Śaiva versions of the Purāṇic rituals that mark such major annual festivals as Śivarātri and Navarātra. A Śākta Śaiva procedure for the celebration of Śivarātri was current in Kashmir, as can be seen from the prescriptions set out in the *Nityādisaṃgraha* of Rājānaka Tuṣakavarta (fl. 71v–72v15) from the lost *Dūtādāmara* and in the 31st chapter of the *Haracarita* of Rājānaka Jayadratha in the thirteenth century, drawing on this and the *Anantabhāskara*. The same can be seen in various regions in the case of the Navarātra, also known as the Durgotsava. Among the Newars of the Kathmandu valley, the goddess is worshipped in this festival in a Tantric form as Ugracandā in Paddhati that incorporate her among such Mantramārgic Śākta deities as Siddhilakṣmī and Kubjikā; see the Newari *Navarātrapūjāvidhi* manuscripts A and B in the bibliography. For her Tantric worship in this context in the tradition of the Paippalādin Atharvavedins of Orissa see SANDERSON 2007b, pp. 263–276. In Bengal, where Navarātra was and is much emphasized, we see a Smārta procedure but one that has been strongly Tantrified in the *Durgāpūjāprayogatatva* section of the *Durgāpūjātattva* of Raghunandana in the 16th century.



stories of Bharukaccha (Broach). This is explicitly stated in the case of Dadda I (r.c. 570-595), and Dadda II (r.c. 620-645); and it is probable in the case of Jayabhata II (r.c. 645-665), since it is very likely that the temple of the Sun-god Jayāditya at Kotipura near Kāvi in the Broach District was founded by him with his name (Jaya-). It is also probable in the case of Jayabhata I (r.c. 595-620), since this was the religion not only of his predecessor and successor but also of his brother Raṇagraha. After Jayabhata II the next three kings of this dynasty, Dadda III (c. 665-690), Jayabhata III (c. 690-715), and Ahirola (c. 715-720), turned to Śaivism, declaring themselves *paramaśeṣvaraḥ*. In the ninth century we have royal devotees of the Sun in Rāmapādhra, the immediate predecessor of the Gūjara-Pratihāra Bhojadeva I of Kanyakubja, and Vināyaka-pāla, the latter's grandson, and, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, in the Sena kings of Bengal Lakṣmaṇasena and Viśvarūpasena, though the former also appears in his inscriptions as a Vaiṣṇava (*paramavaiṣṇavaḥ*) and, more specifically, as a devotee of Narasiṃha (*paramanārasimhaḥ*).<sup>33</sup>

It appears that the Sauras, the initiated devotees of the Sun-god, possessed their own canon of scriptures, known, like those of the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇava followers of the Pāncarātra, as *Saṃhitās*. A list of eighty-five such texts is given in an account of brahmanical, Pāncarātrika (Vaiṣṇava), Saura, and Śaiva scriptural authorities, contained in the Śaiva scripture *Śrīkaṇṭhiyasaṃhitā*. No manuscript of this text, which was known to Kṣemarāja (fl. c. 1000-1050) and probably to Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975-1025), has come down to us; but I have located its long section dealing with the canons of scripture in the *Nityādisaṃgraha* of Rājānaka Takṣakavarta, a Kashmirian digest of scriptural passages bearing on the duties of initiated Śaivas, compiled at some time after the eleventh century.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> EI 28.16: *śahasraśatpādābhakto* (Dharmarāja); EI 31.29B.1.8: *paramādityabhakto* (Dharmarāja); EI 4.29, II.1-3: *paramādityabhakto* (the predecessors of Harṣa); CII 4i.16, 1.4: *dinakaraśarapaṇakamalaprapṇāpāṇitāśeṣāuritanivāha* (Dadda I); ibid., 1.52: *dinakaraśarapaṇakamalaprapṇāpāṇitāśeṣāuritanivāha* (Dadda II); EI 4i.18, 1.9: *dinakaraśarapaṇakamalaprapṇāpāṇitāśeṣāuritanivāha* (Raṇagraha); CII 4i.21, 1.13: *paramaśeṣvaraḥ* (Dadda III); ibid., II.16-17: *paramaśeṣvaraḥ* (Jayabhata III); CII 4i.24, II.20-11: *paramaśeṣvaraḥ* (Ahirola); EI 5.24, 1.5: *paramādityabhakto* (Rāmapādhra); EI 14.13, 1.6: *paramādityabhakto* (Vināyaka-pāla); SIRCAR 1983a:27, II.35-38: *paramasauraḥ* (Lakṣmaṇasena); *paramasaura* (Viśvarūpasena); EI 12.3, II.23-25: *paramavaiṣṇava* (Lakṣmaṇasena); and SIRCAR 1983a:28, II.32-33: *paramanārasimha* (Lakṣmaṇasena). For the attribution of the temple of Jayāditya at Kotipura to Jayabhata II see MIRASHI, CII 4i, p. liv.

<sup>34</sup> The list of the Saura *Saṃhitās* in the *Nityādisaṃgraha* is to be found on ff. 4v11-5r6 of the *codex unicus*. A lightly edited transcript of the whole excerpt on the scriptural canons has been published as it appears in an apograph contained among the Stein manuscripts of Oxford's Bodleian Library by Jürgen HANNEDER (1998, pp. 237-268). The verses on the Saura canon are 74-85 in his edition. On the date of the compilation of the *Nityādisaṃgraha* see SANDERSON 2007a, p. 422.

Unfortunately, no manuscript of any one of these Saura scriptures has surfaced; and the decline of Saurism as a distinct tradition, of which this is the consequence and evidence, is probably to be attributed, at least in part, to a failure to continue to attract patronage and so maintain its separate identity as Śaivism became more influential and encroached upon its territory.

Thus a *Saurasamhitā* of our period sets out the procedure for the worship of the Sun and no doubt drew on the Saura tradition.<sup>35</sup> But it assigns itself to the canon of the Śaiva scripture *Vāthula/Kālotara*,<sup>36</sup> a text on which it silently draws, gives a Śaiva account of the place of the Sun in the birth of the universe, deriving it through emergence from Śiva expressed in a phrase found elsewhere in the Śaiva scriptures,<sup>37</sup> and insists that Śiva and the Sun are in essence a single deity.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the worship of the Sun taught in this text was included by the Saiddhāntika Śaivas as a compulsory preliminary (*aṅgam*) of the regular worship of Śiva himself, appearing first in the sources known to me in the *Siddhāntasārapaddhati* of Mahārājādhirāja Bhojadeva of Dhārā (r.c. 1018-1060)<sup>39</sup> and then soon afterwards, in dependence on that text, in the

<sup>35</sup> A critical edition of this text is being prepared for publication by Dr. Divakar Acharya. I am very grateful to him for sending me drafts of this edition. The text survives in a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript with a scribal date that falls in A.D. 949 (NAK MS 1/1231, NGMPP A1161/6).

<sup>36</sup> *Saurasamhitā* 1.5: *noṭā pūrvam tu yā vatsa gopitā saurasamhitā | tantrē tu vāthule sū tu rahasyaṇi na prakāśitā*. Final colophon: *itī vāthule kriyāpāde saurasamhitāyām ....*

<sup>37</sup> *Saurasamhitā* 1.10-12: *adrṣṭavigrahāc chāntāc chivāt paramakāraṇāt | kriyāśaktir vinīṣkrāntā paratejasamanvitā || 11 ekāśe tu yadā hy ulkā srṣṭihetor adhomukhī | tasya tejasamāyogād utpannam tejarūpinaḥ || 12 ādityamanisamāyogād vahnīḥ samjūyate yatīā | śaktitejasamāyogād bhānuḥ sambhavitā tatthā*. 10ab = *Paṇḍarāraṇasena* (as quoted by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha at *Matāṅgapārameśvaravṛtti*, *Vidyāpāda*, p. 19, II.5-6) and *Śrīkaṇṭhiyasaṃhitā* (ed. in HANNEDER 1998, p. 240, v. 1).

<sup>38</sup> *Saurasamhitā* 1.15: *ādityam tu śivam vindyāc chivam ādityam eva ca | nānātvaṃ yas tu gaccheta yatnenāpi na sidhyati*.

<sup>39</sup> *Siddhāntasārapaddhati*, MS A, f.3v5-4v2, MS B, f.4v6-6r2: OM HRĀM HRĪM SAH iti sūryamantreṇa kṛtadeśasuddhiḥ kṛtasakalīkaraṇam arghapātraṃ kriyā puspādikaṃ samprokṣya raktacandanādinā sūryāya mūlamantrēṇaṅgham dattvā sūryam pūjayet | tatra gaṇapatiguruṇpūjānantaram OM AM PRABHŪTĀYĀ NAMAḥ iti pūṭhamadhye, OM AM VIMALĀYĀ NAMAḥ ity āgneyam, OM AM SĀRĀYĀ NAMAḥ itī nairṛtyam, OM AM ĀRĀDHYĀYĀ NAMAḥ itī vāyavyam, OM AM PARAMASUKHĪYĀ NAMAḥ itī aiśānyam, OM AM PADMĀYĀ NAMAḥ itī punar madhye, OM RĀM DIPTĀYĀ NAMAḥ pūrvadale, OM RĪM SŪKSMĀYĀ NAMAḥ agnau, OM RŪM JAYĀYĀ NAMAḥ dakṣiṇe, OM RŪM BHADRĀYĀ NAMAḥ nairṛte, OM REM VIBHŪTĀYĀ NAMAḥ vāruṇe, OM RAIM VIMALĀYĀ NAMAḥ vāyavye, OM ROM ANOGHĀYĀ NAMAḥ saumye, OM RAUM VIDYUTĀYĀ NAMAḥ śāne, OM RĀM SARVATOMUKHĪYĀ NAMAḥ karṇikāyāṃ sampūjya viśphurāṃ mudrām pradarsya raktavarṇavartulatejōbimbamadhyaṣṭham raktarāśasam śvetapadmopari sthītam sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam ekavaktram







constructed on the basis of Saura notions. But it is also possible that they are an independent development internal to Śaivism. In the absence of properly Saura literature it is impossible to be sure.

The cult of the Sun-god, then, appears to have survived in India after the rise of the Śaivism only in heavily Śaivized Purāṇic reflexes or subordinated in a Śaivized form within the Saiddhāntika cult of Śiva, and, perhaps, in some elements within the Śākta Śaiva tradition. Only in the Majapahit kingdom of East Java do we hear of the survival of adherents of a distinct Saura denomination. There a royal charter of c. 1350 tells us that a board of six learned men appointed to adjudicate law suits included two adherents of this tradition.<sup>46</sup>

#### THE DECLINE OF VAIṢṆAVISM AND THE RISE OF THE TANTRIC PAÑCARĀTRA FOLLOWING ŚAIVA MODELS

Royal preference for Vaiṣṇavism, expressed in inscriptions by the epithets *atyantabhāgavadbhaktaḥ*, *paramabhāgavataḥ*, or *paramavaiṣṇavaḥ*, all meaning 'entirely devoted to Viṣṇu', is mostly confined to the period from the fourth century to the seventh. The Bhāgavata faith was adopted and promoted by the Guptas from the first half of the fourth century through to the end of the fifth,<sup>47</sup> and it was probably under their influence that it gained a foothold in the fifth century among the Śaiva Vākāṭaka rulers of Nandivardhana in eastern Vidarbha, through the marriage in the last decade of the fourth century of the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II to Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the *paramabhāgavataḥ* Gupta emperor Candragupta II (c. 380–474).<sup>48</sup> Gupta influence may also explain the appearance of the Bhāgavata faith at the end of the fourth cen-

*tu layasakram evabhāgavataḥ | vīlīne svastabhāgadhīye tatsvabhāgavodayam tataḥ || 171 bhāgavābhāgavayottirīṇā yā vīratyā cāśirīṇī | sa cidā nīḥsvabhāgavasthā sūryākula krūdārī || 172 tatsvarūpeditam cakram cidbhānūvarkagatisthitam | pratibimbam vābhātī vīsvagrāsakalampajam; Kālikulakramasādhāra 2.37d: bhāskaraiv divasair yuktā śikhā bhāgavaya cottamā; Eraka, Kramastotra, quoted in Tantrālokaśivika on 4.165e–167: astoditadivāśābhānūbhāji yasyām gata bhāgavāśikhā śikhava | prāntādhāmnī dyutināśam eti tāṃ naumy anantām paramārkaśālim. On the literature of the Kashmirian Kālikula see SANDESON 2007a, pp. 250–370.*

<sup>46</sup> See here p. 120.

<sup>47</sup> *CII* 3.8, II.1–2: *paramabhāgavatamahārājādhirājāśrīkumārāguptaḥ*; II.20–23: *paramabhāgavato mahārājādhirājāśrīcandraguptas tasya putras tatpādānuddhyātō mahādevīyām dhruvadevīyām utpannāḥ paramabhāgavato mahārājādhirājāśrīkumārāguptas tasya putras tatpādānuddhyātāḥ paramabhāgavato mahārājādhirājāśrīcandraguptaḥ*.

<sup>48</sup> On Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism among the Vākāṭakas of Nandivardhana and the influence of the Vaiṣṇava Prabhāvatiguptā on the religion of this dynasty see BAKKER 1997.

tury among the Śāṅkayāna kings of Vengipura in Andhra. The earlier kings of this dynasty were devotees of Śiva in keeping with the norm in this region. But Nandivarman II, a younger contemporary of Candragupta II, is styled *paramabhāgavataḥ*.<sup>49</sup> Other early Vaiṣṇava kings are the Mātharas of Kalinga,<sup>50</sup> the Traikūṭakas of Nāsik, Konkāṇa, and Lāṭa,<sup>51</sup> the Śārabhapuriyas of Dakṣiṇa Kosala,<sup>52</sup> and the Parivrajaka Mahārājas of Dabhlārāja (Dāhala) in the fifth and sixth centuries,<sup>53</sup> perhaps the early Maukharis of Kanyakubja before the reign of Īśānavarman (c. 550–76),<sup>54</sup> the Nalas of western Orissa (c. 450–700),<sup>55</sup> the early Čālukyas of Vātāpi (Bādāmi) in the sixth and early seventh century,<sup>56</sup> and the early Pallavas of Kāñci up to and including Siṃhaviṣṇu II (c. 550–610).<sup>57</sup> After Pulakeśin II and Siṃhaviṣṇu both the Čālukyas and Pallavas were Śaivas,<sup>58</sup> as

<sup>49</sup> *EI* 42:11, II.7–9: *bhagavacitra-rathasvāmīya-nuddhyātō ... paramabhāgavataḥ śāṅkayānavarāṣaprabhavo vijayavarmā*. For this hypothesis of Gupta influence, which rests on slender evidence than that of Gupta influence on the Vākāṭakas, see S. SANKARANARAYANAN in *EI* 42:11, p. 92.

<sup>50</sup> TRIPATHY 1997:2: *bhagavatsvāmīnārāyaṇapādānuddhyātāḥ*; 3: *nārāyaṇasvāmīnāḥ pādabhaktaḥ paramadaivata-ḥ*.

<sup>51</sup> MIRASHI, *CII* 4i. p. xlv; *CII* 4i:8, II.1–2: *bhagavatpādakarmmakarō ... mahārājadharsena-ḥ*; *CII* 4i:9, II.1–2, 7–8: *bhagavatpādakarmmakarāḥ ... mahārājavyāghrasena-ḥ*.

<sup>52</sup> *EI* 31:35, II.1–2: *EI* 22:6, II.3–4; *EI* 31:18, I.3.

<sup>53</sup> *EI* 8:28.

<sup>54</sup> Of his predecessors Harivarman, Āḍityavarman, and Īśavaravarman, we know that the second at least was *paramabhāgavataḥ*.

<sup>55</sup> *EI* 21:24 (Podgaḍh inscription of the Nala Skandavarman, fifth century) and *EI* 26:3 (Rājim stome inscription of the Nala Vilāsatunga, c. 700); SINGH 1994, pp. 89–90.

<sup>56</sup> Kirtivarman I (r. 566–597) completed the Viṣṇu cave-temple at Vātāpi. His successor Maṅgalīśvara-Raṇavikrānta (c. 597–608) is styled *paramabhāgavataḥ* in an inscription in the Vaiṣṇava cave 3 at Bādāmi recording the completion of the temple, the installation of the Viṣṇu, and the granting of a village (FLEET in BURGESS 1877, p. 363, II.5–10; and FLEET 1881 [lithograph]: *śrīmaṅgalīśvararāṇavikrāntaḥ ... paramabhāgavato layanaḥ* (corr. FLEET: *layano* Ep.) *mahāviṣṇugṇam ... krtvā* .... On the Vaiṣṇavism of the early Čālukyas before Vikramāditya I (654–c. 681) see BOLON 1979, pp. 254–256.

<sup>57</sup> Čārudevī, wife of Buddhavarman son of Skandavarman I (c. 330–350) (MAHALINGAM 1988:4, II.7–9: gift of land to a temple of Nārāyaṇa); Siṃhavarman II, c. 436–477 (MAHALINGAM 1988:8, II.15–17: *paramabhāgavataḥ*); Yuvārāja Viṣṇugopa, mid-fifth century (MAHALINGAM 1988:6, II.9–17; MAHALINGAM 1988:7, II.18–21: *paramabhāgavataḥ*); Nandivarman I, c. 495–520 (MAHALINGAM 1988:10, II.9–10: *paramabhāgavataḥ*); Buddhavarman, father of Kumāraviṣṇu III (MAHALINGAM 1988:11, II.6–7: *bhagavadbhaktisambhāvitāśāntakalyāṇasya*); Kumāraviṣṇu III c. 520–540 (MAHALINGAM 1988:11, II.12–14: *paramabhāgavataḥ*); Siṃhavarman III c. 540–550 (MAHALINGAM 1988:12, II.14–18: *paramabhāgavataḥ*); Siṃhaviṣṇu c. 550–610 (MAHALINGAM 1988:76: *bhaktīrādhitaviṣṇuḥ siṃhaviṣṇuḥ*).

<sup>58</sup> For the Śaivism of Čālukya Pulakeśin II's successors Vikramāditya I (654–c. 681), Vinayāditya I (681–696), Vijayāditya (696–733), Vikramāditya II (733–744), and



were the later Maukharis.<sup>59</sup>

After the seventh century royal Vaiṣṇavism is sporadic, with the prominent exception of the Kārkoṭas of Kashmir (c. 625–855/6). The conclusion that this dynasty was Vaiṣṇava is not derived from our study of inscriptions, because extremely few have survived the centuries of Islamic rule in Kashmir, which began in 1339 and ended in 1819. It rests primarily on the testimony of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of the Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa, who did have access to, and did utilize, the local epigraphic record of religious foundations and dynastic history.<sup>60</sup> From this work we can see that when a king of this dynasty established and enshrined a deity, generally with his own name (*svanāmnā*), it was always a Viṣṇu (-svāmīn, -keśava), though sometimes images of the Sun-god or the Buddha were enshrined in addition. These royal Viṣṇus are the Durlabhasvāmīn (4.6) of Durlabhavardhana (r.c. 626–662), the Tribhuvanavāmīn (4.78) of Candrāpīḍa (r.c. 712–720/1), the Muktasvāmīn (4.188) of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (725–761/2), his silver Parihāsakeśava at his new town Parihāsapura (4.195, 202), his golden Muktakeśava (4.196, 201), and a Viṣṇu at his new town Darpatapura (4.183), the Vipulakeśava (4.484) of Jayāpīḍa (r.c. 773/4–804/5), and his Caturātmakeśava and Anantāśayana Viṣṇu at his new town Jayapura (4.508), the Amṛtakeśava established after his death by his mother Amṛtaprabhā to secure the rescue from hell that the sins of his later life had made his certain destiny (4.659), and the Viṣṇu established by each of the five uncles of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, who ran the country for thirty-seven years during the reign of the puppet king Ajitāpīḍa (r.c. 813/4–850/1): Utpalasvāmīn

Kirtivarman II (744–c. 753/757) and their construction of the Śiva temples at Paṭṭadakal and Alampur see *EI* 32:21, *ARE* 159 of 1959–60, *EI* 35:16 and 3:1; and the excellent overview in DAGENS 1984, vol. 1, pp. 20–24.

<sup>59</sup> On the Śaiva affiliation of the Maukharis Iśānavarman, Śarvavarman, and Avantivarman see BAKKER and ISAACSON 2004, pp. 32–33; THAPLYAL 1985: B 2, II. 19–20; B 3, II. 7–8; B 5, II. 7–8. Another lineage that may have been Vaiṣṇava up to the early seventh century before turning to Śaivism is that of the Varmanas of Prāgiyotiṣa. Bhūtiavarman of that line was *paramabhāgavataḥ* according to his Baḍagañgā rock inscription of 553/4 (*EI* 27:5, II. 1–2): *śrī paramadaiṇalaparabhaḥ* *gaṇatamahārājādhirājāśvamedhaśājīn[ām]* *śrībhūtiavarmadevapādānām*. But his great-great-grandson, Bhāskaraavarman (r.c. 600–650), has been described in his Dūbī copper-plate inscription as having revived Śaivism; see SIRCAR 1983a:1, II. 109–110: *lakṣmīḥ kṣīravilāsa[nita]vidhinā saṃskṛtya ca svikṛtā bhāyo yena mahēśvārāśrayanayāḥ sphāyīpratāpārciśā*.

<sup>60</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 1.15: *drṣṭvā ca pūrvabhūbhartṛpratiṣṭhā\*vastuśāsanaiḥ* (conj.: *vastuśāsanaiḥ* Ed.) *praśastipaṭṭaiḥ śāstraiḥ ca śānto 'śeṣabrahmaklamah* 'I have removed all the troublesome errors [of my predecessors] by consulting in person the charters that record the (temples and other) edifices founded and consecrated (-*pratiṣṭhāvastu*-) by the kings of the past, [their] panegyric donative inscriptions, and works of scholarship'.

(4.695ab), Padmasvāmīn (4.695cd), Dharmasvāmīn (4.697ab), Kalyāṇasvāmīn (6.697cd), and Mamasvāmīn (4.698–699).

Kalhaṇa reports only one Śaiva foundation by a king of this dynasty, and this is a special case. For it was not the creation of a new Śiva with the king's name, but merely the building by Lalitāditya of a new stone temple to house the ancient Śiva Jyēṣṭheśvara at the site of Śiva Bhūteśvara (4.190) in the context of offerings to clear his debt to the latter incurred when he had appropriated the wealth of this temple to finance his military campaigns (4.189). Devotion to Viṣṇu was also the preference of Avantivarman (r. 855/6–883), the first king of the next dynasty, and in keeping with his personal faith he installed an Avantisvāmīn before his consecration. But thereafter he showed himself a Śaiva in unison with the faith of his powerful minister Śūra, establishing a Śiva Avantisvāra and making donations to the Śivas of the national Śiva-temples, confessing to Śūra his long-hidden devotion to Viṣṇu only at death's door (5.43, 123–125).<sup>61</sup>

Vaiṣṇavism gained ground again only towards the end of our period, and in subsequent centuries.<sup>62</sup> Before that happened, while it remained in the shadow of Śaivism, it gave rise to a new literature of scriptural texts known collectively as the *Pañcarātra*, that was probably composed in and around Kashmir. A form of Vaiṣṇavism bearing this name is already mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>63</sup> It is very probable, therefore, that it was in existence well before the Śaiva Mantramārga. However, there is no evidence that this early *Pañcarātra* had a Tantric ritual system of the kind that characterizes the *Samhitās* of the surviving corpus of *Pañcarātrika* scripture. It is highly probable in my view that those texts are rather the product of a thorough reformation in which Vaiṣṇavas followed the example of the already flourishing Śaiva Mantramārga in order to provide themselves with a substantially new ritual system that would enable them to compete more effectively with their rivals.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> For the remains of Avantivarman's Avantisvāmīn and Avantisvāra temples, both built at Avantipura, see Krishna DEVA in *EITA* vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 368–373; plates 734–738 and 740–757.

<sup>62</sup> Vaiṣṇavas who left their mark in the domains of the major Śāstras, belles-lettres, and literary theory are few during our centuries. The shift in the fortunes of Vaiṣṇavism is marked by the emergence of such influential religious leaders as Rāmānuja (d. 1137), Madhva (probably 1238–1317), Nimbārka (thirteenth century), Viṣṇusvāmīn (thirteenth century?), Vallabha, and Caitanya (both late fifteenth century). For an excellent survey of the history of these Vaiṣṇava traditions see COLAS 2003.

<sup>63</sup> *Mahābhārata* 12.322.24; 12. 326.100; 12.360.76; 12.337.1; 12.370.59, 63, and 67.

<sup>64</sup> It was this tradition that was subsequently adapted in South India as the basis of texts such as the *Īśvarasamhitā*, *Pādasamhitā*, and *Pārameśvarasamhitā*, whose purpose, absent in the earlier *Samhitās*, was to provide scriptural authority for a *Pañcarātrika* system of temple-worship.



I am led to this conclusion by the convergence of various considerations. Firstly, the ritual system prescribed in the *Pañcarātra* scriptures is remarkably close to that of the *Śaiva Mantramārga* in its repertoire, consisting principally of *Maṇḍala* initiation (*dīkṣā*), regular worship comprising *Nyāsa*, *Pūjā*, *Japa* and *Hema*, the periodic ritual of *pavitrārāpanam*, special rites of Mantra-propitiation (*mantrārāddhanam*), and image-installation (*pratiṣṭhā*); and this proximity extends into the minute details of the procedures of these rituals and even to the production of *Vaiṣṇava* versions of such eminently *Śaiva* rites as the *vetālasādhnam*.<sup>65</sup>

Secondly, I see no evidence that any of the surviving *Pañcarātra* texts goes back as far the *Śaiva* texts that they so closely resemble. Seven can be shown to be relatively old because they have been cited by authors of the tenth century or have come down to us in early Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts. These are the *Śvāyambhuvapañcarātra*, the *Devāmṛtapañcarātra*, the *Vāsudevakalpa* of the *Mahālakṣmīsaṃhitā*, the *Jayottara*, the *Jayākhyā*, the *Sātvata*, and the *Paṇḍara*. Now, of these, three, namely the *Jayottara*, the *Jayākhyā*, and the *Sātvata*, are very unlikely to have been produced before the ninth century, that is to say, at a time when the *Śaiva Mantramārga* had been flourishing under widespread royal patronage for at least two centuries and had been existence in some form by a time no later than the middle of the sixth and perhaps as early as the middle of the fifth. For all three focus on the worship of a form of *Vāsudeva*, called *Vaikuṇṭha* in the *Jayākhyā* and *Jayottara* and *Śaktiātman* or *Śaktiśa* in the *Sātvatasamhitā*, in which the principal anthropomorphic face is flanked by the faces of *Narasimha* and *Varāha*, with a fourth face, that of the sage *Kapila*, at the rear.<sup>66</sup> Surviving stone and bronze images of this deity are numerous, but they are three-faced, lacking the face of *Kapila* at the rear, until the ninth century.<sup>67</sup>

Thirdly, these early *Pañcarātra* texts show clear signs of having drawn on *Śaiva* sources. This is particularly obvious in the *Śvāyambhuvapañcarātra*, to which we have access in a single, incomplete Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript bearing a date of transcription that falls in A.D. 1026.<sup>68</sup> The principal Mantra of

this text, which may well be the oldest of the seven, is the well-known *Vaiṣṇava Dvādaśākṣara OM NAMO BHAGAVATE VĀSUDEVĀYA NAMAḤ*. But the principal among its ancillary Mantras are five that it calls the *Brahmas*. These are manifestly adapted from the venerable *Śaiva Mantras* of that name.<sup>69</sup>

*śukradine +++ nakṣatre \*likhitam* (corr.: *likṣitam* Cod.) *iti* 'Copied on Friday, under the asterism +++, on the eleventh Tithi of the bright half of the month Āṣāḍha in the [expired] year 147'. That the unstated era of this date is the Newari, which began on 20 October, 879, is confirmed by palaeographical comparison with other Nepalese manuscripts of the early eleventh century. I am very grateful to Dr. Diwakar Acharya for providing me with a digital copy of this manuscript and his own transcription, and also for the information that a second manuscript of this text photographed by the NGMPP (B 237/16) is merely a copy of the first. The title *Śvāyambhuvapañcarātra* appears nowhere in the surviving folios but is reconstructed here from the analytic equivalent seen in the colophon of the eighth Adhyāya: *iti pañcarātre \*svāyambhuve* (corr.: *svayambhuve* Cod.) *aṣṭamo <dhya>ch>*. The other surviving Adhyāya colophons refer to the work simply as *pañcarātram* or *pañcarātram mahājñānam*. The meaning is 'the *Pañcarātra* of the Self-born', i.e. 'the *Pañcarātra* taught to Brahman'. The text is indeed instruction given in response to questions posed by Brahman. The instructor is *Śiva* / *Īśvara*. Exposure 3a1-2 (the beginning): OM NAMO BHAGAVATE VĀSUDEVĀYA || ...*prāṇipatya haraṃ devaṃ* ... *stutvā nāmasahasreṇa brahmā vacanam abravīt*; exposure 4a2-3: *\*brahmaṇo vacanam* (em.: *brahmānam* Cod.) *śrutvā Īśvaraḥ* <ch> *\*pratyabhāṣata* (em.: *pratyubhāṣyate* Cod.) | *śṛṇu brahma-ṇo* *prayatnena viṣṇo-ḥ* *sthāpanam uttamam* | *pañcarātram mahājñānam sarvasā* (strengthened) *coltamam*.

The *Devāmṛtapañcarātra*, which is closely related textually to the *Śvāyambhuvapañcarātra* and is probably dependent on it, survives in a single, undated Nepalese manuscript, probably of the twelfth century. Here too I am indebted to Dr. Diwakar Acharya, who provided me with a transcript that he has prepared.

<sup>65</sup> The five *Vaiṣṇava Brahmas* are as follows (*Śvāyambhuvapañcarātra*, exposure 10a1-2): OM NARENARENARENANĀTHA NARA YASMAN NAROTTAMA *prathamabrahmā* | OM YAJNĀYA NAMO YĀNĀYA DHARMĀYA NAMAḤ | *\*PUNYĀYA* (corr.: *PUNYĀYA* Cod.) NAMAḤ | *\*VRATĀYA* NAMAḤ | *\*NĪTĀYĀ* NAMAḤ | *\*MĀRGĀNUSĀRĪNE* NAMAḤ *dūtīyabrahmā* | OM KĀLEBHYO *\*THA KĀLEBHYAḥ* (corr.: *THA KĀLEBHYA* Cod.) KĀLĀKĀLĀNTAREBHYAḤ CA SARVATĀ (+ + + + NĀJMAS TE RUDRARUDREBHYAḥ *trītiya brahmā* | OM TATSAMYOĠĀYA VIDMAHE HṚṢĪKESĀYA *\*DHĪMAHI* (corr.: *DHĪTMAHE* Cod.) TAN NO *\*VIṢṆU* (corr.: *VIṢṆU* Cod.) PRACODYĀT *caturthabrahmā* | *\*RODHAKA SARVVIDYĀNĀM DEVADĀNĀVĀDHIPATI MAHĀPURUṢA NAMO STU TE pañca-ṇa-brahmā*. The four Brahmas after the first are evidently modelled on the *Śaiva Brahmas* in the order (1) *Vāmadeva* (*VĀMADEVĀYA NAMO JYEṢṬHĀYA NAMO RUDRĀYA NAMAḤ KĀLĀYA NAMAḤ KĀLĀVĪKARĀNĀYA NAMO BALĀVĪKARĀNĀYA NAMO BALĀPRAMATHANĀYA NAMAḤ SARVABHŪTADAMANĀYA NAMO MANONMANĀYA NAMAḤ*), (2) *Aghora* (*AGHOREBHYO *\*THA GHOREBHYO GHORAGHORATAREBHYAḤ CA SARVATAḤ ŚĀRYA SARVEBHYO NĀMAS TE RUDRARŪPEBHYAḤ*), (3) *Tatpuruṣa* (*TATPURUṢĀYA VIDMAHE MAHĀDEVĀYA DHĪMAHI TAN NO RUDRAḥ PRACODYĀT*), and (4) *Īśana* (*ĪŚĀNĀH SARVVIDYĀNĀM ĪŚVARĀH SARVABHŪTĀNĀM BRAHMAṆO *\*DHĪPATIR BRAHMĀ ŚIVO* ME *\*STU SĀDĀ ĪŚVAḤ*)). The first *Brahma* has nothing in common with the remaining *Śaiva Brahma*, that of *Sadyojāta*.**

<sup>65</sup> A *vetālasādhnam* is taught in *Jayottara* 8.23-26b.

<sup>66</sup> *Jayākhyāsaṃhitā* 6.73c-64 (JS) (= *Jayottara* 1.20 (J)); *dhyaeye caturbhujam* *\*vīra* (JS: *devam* J) *śaṅkhacakraśodādhnam* || *caturvektram sunayanam* *sukāntam padmāpāṇinam* | *vaikuṇṭham* *\*nārasimhāya* (JS: *nārasimham* ca J) *vārāham kṛpānānam*; *Sātvatasamhitā* 12.9, 14c-15: *śaktiśo 'py aṭha samcintyaḥ puṇḍarīkanibhokṣaṇaḥ* | *icchārūpadharāḥ caiva samyag* *prahastānanaḥ* || ... *nārasimhena vaktreṇa bhavabhūtiḥ ghātākt* | *pūṣpāṇi sarvabhūṭāni vārāheṇa mātmanā* | *kurute paścimasthena kṛpānena paśamhrtim*.

<sup>67</sup> See SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 283-284, drawing on SIUDMAK 1994.

<sup>68</sup> *Śvāyambhuvapañcarātra*, exposure 11b3: *samvat 147 āṣāḍhaśukla cādaśyam*



The Śaiva prototypes are already found in the Atimārga of the Pāñcārthika Pāsupatas. Indeed they constitute the whole Mantra-system of that tradition. However, it is clear that the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* has drawn them from the later tradition of the Mantramārga, because it goes on to teach the imposition on to the worshipper's body of the thirty-eight parts of these Mantras (*kalānyāsaḥ*), a Mantramārgic feature, and under names specific to one Mantramārgic tradition, that of the *Svachandatantra*, the principal scripture of the Mantrapīṭha.<sup>70</sup>

The *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* survives only in this Nepalese manuscript. One might object, therefore, that it may be no more than a local oddity unrepresentative of the mainstream tradition. That it is not can be argued, of course, only through evidence that the text was more widely known in the form of references to it, citations from it, or accounts of its contents in other works. This is a difficult test to apply in the case of the early Pāñcarātrika literature, since in stark contrast to the case of the Śaiva scriptures, Pāñcarātrika commentarial works in which we could seek such evidence are almost completely absent until a much later period among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the South, when the range of relevant sources had changed greatly. The only exception is the *Spandopradīpikā* of the Kashmirian Bhāgavatopala, probably of the tenth century.<sup>71</sup> But that, though it cites a number of early Pāñcarātrika scriptural sources, does not cite this. However, there is evidence in a Śaiva source that this Pāñcarātrika text was known and followed outside Nepal. For I propose that it is identical with the *Svayambhūpañcarātra* that Somaśambhu cites as his authority in his account of the procedures for the installation of an image of Viṣṇu in the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*,<sup>72</sup> the highly influential work on the Saiddhāntika Śaiva

rituals<sup>73</sup> that he composed in the eleventh century, probably in 1073,<sup>74</sup> while he held the office of abbot in the kingdom of the Kalacuris of Tripuri at the illustrious Saiddhāntika monastery of Golagi (*golaḡimathāḥ*), in the Rewa District of Madhya Pradesh.<sup>75</sup>

My conclusion that Somaśambhu was referring to our *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* does not rest solely on the synonymy of the titles, both meaning 'The Pāñcarātra taught to Brahmā', but also on the fact that the brief but detailed account of the ritual that Somaśambhu attributes to the *Svayambhūpañcarātra* corresponds in its particulars to the coverage of the same topic found in the seventh Adhyāya of the text in our manuscript. I cannot demonstrate this in full detail here. But it should suffice to point out that the system that Somaśambhu attributes to his *Svayambhūpañcarātra* features an unusual arrangement of three circuits of Mantra-deities that agrees exactly with that of our *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* manuscript: nine on a lotus with eight petals (one at the centre and one on each of the petals), twelve in a circle with that lotus at its centre, and eight forming a circuit enclosing the whole. The twelve are the Viṣṇumūrtis, embodying each of the twelve syllables of the root-Mantra (*mūlamantraḥ*); the outer eight are the eight weapons (*astrāṇi*) held by the presiding deity; and the nine of the innermost circuit (*garbhāvaraṇam*) are a set of ancillary Mantras: the Hṛdaya at the centre surrounded by the Śiras (E), the Śikhā (S), the Kavaca (W), the Astra (N), the Gāyatrī (SE), the Sāvitrī (NE), the Netra (SW), and the Pīṅgalāstra (NW).<sup>76</sup> Since this arrangement is highly

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., exposure 10a3-5: *kalānyāsaṃ caturthaṃ tu | śṛṣṭi vṛddhiṃ mati lakṣmī meṭhā kanti svadhā sthiti | rajo rakṣā rati pēya kāmā tēṣā mati jñāyā | avidhī kāya tāta ca bhrāmaṇī mohanti tatā | + + + + + sthāḥ kṣudhā mṛtyu jvarabhayā | nirvīṭi ca pratiṣṭhā ca | śānti vidyā tathāiva ca | tarā sūlārā taraṇī tārayanti svalāraṇī | aṣṭatrinśa \*kalopeta (em. :kalāpetāḥ Cod.) ācāryaḥ \*samudāhṛtaḥ (corr. :samudāhṛtāḥ Cod.). Cf., to emend the names, *Svachandatantra* 1.53-59b (*Svachandalanalitabhairava* IFI T. 507, p. 6; NAK MS 1-224, f.3v4-4r1, the latter with different *kalāḥ* of Īsana) and *Netratātra* 22.26-34.*

<sup>71</sup> I am aware of no reference to the *Spandopradīpikā* or its author in any dated work. It is not possible, therefore, to fix a date before which this work must have been written, at least not a date earlier than that of its manuscripts. However, the fact that it quotes extensively from the Śākta Śaiva literature current in Kashmir up to and including the *Īśvaraprabhīṭīkā* of Utpaladeva (fl. c. 925-975) but not from any of the works of Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975-1025) makes it unlikely that its author wrote after the latter.

<sup>72</sup> Verse 4.12ab in BRUNNER's edition (*Somaśambhupaddhati*, Pt. 4, p. 297) (B), = verse 1668cd in the KSTS edition (*Karmakāṇḍakramāvalī*) (K), and folio 71v2-3 in the Cambridge MS (*Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*) (C): *svayambhūpañcarātre (NK: pāñcarātre B) ca sarvaṃ etad udīritam.*

<sup>73</sup> Of the various Paddhatis on the Saiddhāntika rituals that have come down to us Somaśambhu's was probably the most influential. Its impact can be seen in the major later works of this type, such as the *Kriyākramadyotikā* of Aghoraśiva, the *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānaśiva, and the *Siddhāntatāṭhaka* of Viśvanātha, and in the fact that manuscripts of the text have survived throughout the subcontinent, in Kashmir, Nepal, and the South. There is also the fact that it alone achieved the distinction of being stripped of its human authorship to be passed off as scripture. For it was incorporated almost in its entirety in the *Agnipurāṇa* (SANDERSON in BRUNNER 1998, p. lix, fn. 81); and much of it was taken over in the late south-Indian Saiddhāntika scriptures *Cintyaśivasādhakya* and *Uttarākāṇika* (BRUNNER 1998, p. lviii-lix).

<sup>74</sup> For a discussion of the date of Somaśambhu's Paddhati see SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 420-421, footnote 640.

<sup>75</sup> For the name Golagi and the location of the monastery see here p. 264.

<sup>76</sup> The relevant passage in the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* (exposure 5b3-5a2) is as follows (with some restorations and emendations following the readings of a closely related passage in the eleventh Adhyāya of the *Devamṛtapāñcarātra* [D]): \**yajanaṃ* (em. D and here, exposure 8a3: ++ nam Cod.) *saṃprataḥkṣāmi* \**divyaṃ* (D: *devaṃ* Cod.) *nārāyaṇasya* \**tu* (D: *tuḥ* Cod.) | *tribhir āvaraṇaiḥ* \**kāryaṃ* (em. :*kāya* Cod.: *kārā D*) *durlabhaṃ* \**tu* *surāsuraiḥ* (D: *sasurāsuraṇi* Cod.) | *madhye cakram* \**pratiṣṭhāpyaṃ* (em.: *pratiṣṭhāpyaṃ* Cod.: *pratiṣṭhāpya D*) \**dvādaśāraṃ* (corr. [D: *arai* <-> *dvādaśabhir yutam*]: *dvādaśāna* Cod.) | *śuśobhanam* | *tanmadhye ka-*



unusual, especially in its set of nine ancillaries, it is extremely unlikely that Somaśambhu's *Śayambhūpañcarātra* is not the *Śayambhūpañcarātra* of the Nepalese manuscript. Since Somaśambhu was a major figure and writing far from Nepal for a pan-Indian audience there are no grounds for considering this tradition to be a Nepalese aberration.

Furthermore, while the ritual systems taught in the scriptures of the *Pañcarātra* are generally coherent, no less so than those of the Śaivas, the texts retain elements that make sense in the Śaiva world but not in the Vaiṣṇava;

*malaṁ prakṛtaṁ patrāṣṭakasakṛpikam | sarvātmā \*śakalo (em.: śakala Cod.) \*dero (corr.: deva Cod.) \*dīyamālāsasamanvitaḥ (conjunction: dīyamālāsasamanvitaḥ Cod.) | śriya madhye tu hrdayaṁ hūṃkāreṇa tu pūjayet | śra-cha> pūrvadale \*dadyād dakṣiṇe tu śikhāṁ (D: da + + + + + m Cod.) nyaset | paścime kavaceṇ \*dadyād (corr.: dadyād Cod.) astraṇ caivottaraṇa tu | gāyatri āgneyādig\* bhāge (corr.: bhāga Cod.) sūvatrim īṣave svayaṁ | \*netraṇ (corr.: netraṇ Cod.) caiva tu \*nairṛtyaṁ (corr.: nairṛtyaṁ Cod.) pingalāstraṁ tu \*vāyave (corr.: vāyave Cod.) | guhyād guhyataraṁ guhyaṁ garbhāvarāṇaṁ uttamaṁ | \*dvītyeṇ (corr.: dvītyeṇ Cod.) \*sampratyakṣyāmi (corr.: sampratyakṣyāmi Cod.) viṣṇu \*mūrtiḥ (corr.: mūrti Cod.) prapūjayet | dvādaśāre tathā cakre nyase-cha> dvādaśa mūrtayaḥ | \*keśavaṁ tu are pūrve omkāreṇa (D: ke + + + + + reṇa Cod.) tu pūjayet | dvītyaṁ tu nākāreṇa \*pūjya (conjunction: pūjya Cod.) nārāyaṇaṁ \*tathā (corr.: tathā Cod.) | trītyaṁ mādāhavaṁ \*pūjya (em.: pūjya Cod.) mahāreṇa \*mahātmanā (D: mahātmanā Cod.) | bhakṛārāgaradevena govindan tu \*catutṛthakaṁ (D: catutṛthakaṁ Cod.) | pañcamaṁ tu gākāreṇa viṣṇu-cha> caiva prapūjayet | vakārāgaradevena saṣṭhe vai madhusūdanam | eptame vāmanaḥ \*caiva (corr.: caiva Cod.) teḥāreṇa tu pūjayet | \*yajed vakārābijena (conjunction: + j. dvārābijena Cod.) aṣṭame tu \*trivikramaṁ (corr.: trivikramaṁ Cod.) | śrīdharaṇa navamaṇ caiva sukāreṇa tu pūjayet | daśame tu hrīṣiṣaṇa dekāreṇa tu pūjayet | ekādaśe tu \*vākāre (conjunction: vākāre Cod.) padmanābhaṁ \*prabhūṁ (corr.: prabhū Cod.) vid-cha> dvādaśe <tu> bhakāreṇa nāmnā dāmodaraṇaṁ saptam | \*dvītyāvarāṇa khyātām (D: dvītyāvarāṇa khyātām Cod.) \*trītye trīpā (D: trītyeṇa strīpā Cod.) vīṇyaset | śankha-cha> caiva nyase-cha> \*pūrve (em.: pūrveṇa Cod.) āgneyaṁ tu godāṁ nyaset (D: āgneya + + + + Cod.) | \*dakṣiṇeṇa (corr.: + kṣiṇeṇa Cod.) bhavet-cha> cakram khaḍgaṁ \*nairṛtyagocare (corr.: nairṛtyagocare Cod.) | padma-cha> paścimate vidyā-cha> vāyavaṁ tu hala-cha> nyaset | musala-cha> \*cottarato (em. in spite of the metre: cottato Cod. D) dadyād īṣavyā-cha> \*śāraṇa (corr.: śāraṇa Cod.) vīṇyaset | etad guhyataraṁ \*yugaṇ (corr.: yugaṇ Cod.) durlabhaṁ parama padmaṁ. Somaśambhu sets out the same material in his Pādhati in 4.27c-33 of BRUNNER's edition, sv. 1681c-1686 in the Kashmirian edition, and f.72r-7 in the Cambridge manuscript (the last two sources offer no significant variants but only minor errors and corruptions that I have not recorded here): vīṇyasya cāditā cakram dvādaśāraṇaṁ subhāsvaram || 28 tasya madhye punar deyaṁ padmaṁ aṣṭadalaṁ tathā | hṛṇmantraṁ karṇikāyāṁ ca śrīraḥ pūrvadale tathā || 29 śikhāṁ ca dakṣiṇe patre paścime kavaceṇ nyaset | astraṁ uttarato nyasya gāyatrīm agnipatraḥ || 30 sūvatrim īṣapatre ca netraṇ ca nairṛte dale | tatas ca vāyapatre ca pingalāstraṁ vīṇyaset || 31 garbhāvarāṇaṁ ity uttam adhūnāvarāṇāntaram | dvādaśāre ca cakre 'emin keśavādyaṇ yathākramam || 32 prapūrvādyair yathākramam ukṣepāraṇi svanāmabhiḥ | prāghṛīṭas ca vīṇyasya khaḍgaṇ gadāṁ anantaram || 33 cakram śankhaṁ ca padmaṇ ca halaṁ ca musalaṁ tathā | śāraṇaṇ ca vīṇyaset evaṁ trītyāvarāṇaṁ bhavet.*

and in some cases we find a degree of awkwardness that is consistent only with a clumsy attempt to adapt Śaiva materials to their new context.

A striking example of this can be seen in the *Jayākhyā*. When detailing the process of initiation it describes the *pāśasūtram*, the cord which is ritually transformed into a substitute of the subtle body of the candidate, containing all the reality-levels along its length, to be used in the process of rendering the past actions that bind his soul incapable of giving rise to future consequences at any of these levels. In the course of this description we find some elements alien to the Vaiṣṇava tradition that derive, with minimal distortion, from the Śaiva doctrinal context. Thus it speaks of this cord as embodying *kalā*, *avidyā*, and *rāgaḥ*, and, shortly afterwards, as coloured by *rāgaḥ*, illuminated by *avidyā*, circumscribed by *kalāḥ*, and rendered non-pervasive by *niyatīḥ*.<sup>77</sup> Now the first three of these factors (*rāgaḥ*, *avidyā*, and *kalā*) are the Śaiva Mantramārga's three 'shrouds'

<sup>77</sup> The only edition of the *Jayākhyā* (Ed.), that of KRISHNAMACHARYA, was based on south-Indian manuscripts of relatively recent date. I re-edit the text of the passage to which I am referring, 16.128c-134 [numeration of Ed.], with the help of the testimony of a Nepalese paper manuscript of 1454/5 (N), ff. 35v7-36r4, and a lemma in a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of 1187/8 of the *Jñānalakṣmī* of Śādhaka Candradatta, pupil of Ekāyanācārya Nārāyaṇarābha (C): *susitaṁ sūtram ādāya lākṣālaktakabhāvitam || 129 samukhaṇ cōttitām śiṣyaṁ \*samapādāśirodharam (corr. [=C]: samapādāśirodharam N: samapādāśironnatam Ed.) | kṛtvāgūṣṭhavadvayasyāgrāt samārabhya \*dvijattama (Ed.: dvijottamaḥ N) || 130 yāvac chikhāvasānaṁ tu sūtra \*mānaṁ (Ed.: māna N) samāharat | kuryād \*ekagūṇaṁ (Ed.: ekagūṇaṁ N) tad \*vai (Ed.: ve N) dviguṇaṁ trigūṇaṁ tu rā || 131 \*tris tris tad (conjunction: tris tris tad N: tritritismad N: tritritisha Ed.) guṇitaṁ vātha \*pañcaviṁśatidhāva (N: pañcaviṁśati cāthavā Ed.) | avyak- litaṁgāsūtraṁ tu \*tad rāgūvidyākālātmakam (em.: tad rāgūvidyākālātmakam N: prāgūvidyākālātmakam Ed.) || 132 \*nityaṇ jaḍam (Ed.: nityajaḍa N) vyapakaṁ ca tasmīn rīṣam prāṣṭhitam | \*tatraivāstaṁ trayaḥ (corr.: tatraevāstaṁ trayaḥ N: tatraṣṭam ayate Ed.: tatraṣṭam ayate conjunction. KRISHNAMACHARYA) bhīṣya tasmād eva pravartate || 133 tatraśṭhāṇ cintayet sarvāṁ abhinnaṁ tattvapaddhatim | \*tattvadbhāvās (N: tattvadbhāvās Ed.) tu ye vipra \*pāśā (em.: pāśa Ed.: teṣāṁ Ed.) bandhātmaḥ dr̥ghāḥ || 134 rāgeṇa rañjitās \*citrā (Ed.: cīmta N) avidyāsampradīpitāḥ | vichinnās caiva kālana \*niyatāvyāpakās (conjunction: niyatāvyāpakās N Ed.) tathā 'O best of brahmins, after taking up a perfectly white cord soaked [red] with lac and making the candidate stand facing him with his feet together and his head upright, he should measure out [a length of] the cord from the tip of his two big toes to his hair-tuft. He may make [the cord of this length] single, double, triple, thrice triple, or twenty-fivefold. He should meditate upon the entire sequence of Tattvas as residing undivided therein. This thread, [which embodies] the subtle body [of the candidate], comprises Rāga, Avidyā, and Kalā (rāgūvidyākālātmakam). It is eternal, unconscious, and pervasive. The whole universe is grounded in it. Into it it disappears again and from it alone it comes forth. These binding cords are the firm fetters [of the soul]. They arise, O brahmin, from the Tattvas. They are coloured because they have been dyed with [the redness of] Rāga. They are illuminated by Avidyā, circumscribed by Kālā, and made non-pervasive by Niyatī'.*



The *Sātvata* and the *Paṣkara* are probably the latest of these early texts. They are certainly the most polished and the most sophisticated in language. Unsurprisingly, these more mature products of the tradition contain no glaringly obvious examples that I can see of imperfectly assimilated Śaiva material. Nonetheless, there are parallels in which the Śaiva version seems more likely to have been the model of the Pāñcarātrika than *vice versa*. Thus the nineteenth chapter of the *Paṣkara* teaches as the text's major initiation Maṇḍala (*mahāyāga*) an arrangement of eight lotuses around a central ninth, calling it the *navapīṭhamāṇḍalam*, *navābhjamaṇḍalam*, or *navanābhamaṇḍalam*,<sup>50</sup> and a

<sup>78</sup> For *rāgha*, *vidyā*, and *kalā* as the three 'shrouds' (*kañcukatrayam*) of the Śaivas see, e.g., *Mañḍapārāmēśvara*, *Vidyāpāda* 11.33: *rāghavidyākālāḥkhyena kañcukatrāyena vai*; and *Rauravāsūtrasaṃgraha* 1.3-4: *rāghavidyāvidyāyuktaguna-buddhisamudbhavaam*, where they are the three 'shrouds' (*kañcukāni*) of the bound soul. For the addition of *kālāḥ* and *niyatāḥ* seen in the last verse of the *Jyōyukha* passage (16.134) see, e.g., *Mañḍapārāmēśvara*, *Vidyāpāda* 14.2: *kañcukatriyāyōddham kālena kalitām sanāḥ | niyatāḥlingham yati pumbhāvaṇamavartinā*; and *Tantrāloka* 9.204: *māyā kalā rāghavidyā kālō niyatā eva ca | kañcukāni saḍ uktāni*.

79 Cf. *Sūyāmībhāṣaśāstrasamgraha* 32.10–11: *kalodbalitacaitanyo vidadyadarśita-*  
*gocaraḥ* | *rāgeṇa rājaiṣṭa* cāpi *buddhyādhikarāṇaiṣ tataḥ* || *māyādyānā-*  
*parjantatādibhūttātmavartmani* | *bhukte tatra śiṭho bhogaḥ bhogaiṣkaraiḥ*  
*pumān*; *Kīraṇa* 1.16–17a: *tayodbalitacaitanyo vidadhyābhogitogocaraḥ rāgeṇa*  
*rājaiṣṭa* cāpi; and *Kubjikāmatā* 13.3: *rāgeṇa rājaiṣṭmā viṇaiyatā* yo  
*naiṇaiṣat* *vyādyāperito gacchet svargam* vā *svabham* eva vā.  
80 *Pratyakṣasādhya*.

80 Pauskaraśamhitā 1.24ab: *yady ekaṃ tu mahāyōgaṃ navaṇābhaṃ samudyañjet;*  
10.34cd: *navapīṭhe mahāyōge taṃ ca kṛtsnaṃ vadāmi te;* 19.26: *yair uddistaṃ*  
*mahāyōge navābje.*

Furthermore, in the *Pauṣkara*, the *Sātvata*, and the *Vāsudevakalpa* of the *Mahālakṣmīsaṃhitā* we find the term *spandaḥ* 'vibrancy' in the sense it has in the Śākta Śaiva *Jayadrathayāmala* and the *Spandakārikā* of Kallata in the second half of the ninth century. However, I do not exclude the possibility that in this case it may be the Śaiva sources that are indebted to the Vaiṣṇava.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *Mahāgaṇḍapārameśvara, Kṛtyapāda* 1.51c: *maṇḍalam navaṇḍīhākyam; Kṣemarāja, Svachchandodyota* vol.2 (Pāṭala 5), p.22: *navanābhām navaṇḍīhasthānastha-padmam etat puramaṇḍalam*. Cf. *Niśvāsasūhyā* 11.14ab (*Niśvāsātatvatasamhitā* f.83v1): *ekāśītipado yāgo navayūheti 'samjñitah* (conj.: *samsthānīah* Cod.).

Paṅkaraśaṃpīṭā 19,24a-26b, 27ab, 31ab, 37c-38b: jñātum icchāmi  
 \*vidyākhyamantrāṇām (vidyākhyā em.: vidyākhyām) lakṣaṇāṃ vibhō ||  
 25 yāy padmakāpanā kāryā \*padair (conj.: padmaīr Ed.) nirvartitāiḥ prabho |  
 brahmaprakāśakānām tu mantrāṇām atha lakṣaṇām || 25 air uddiṣṭāṃ mahāyō  
 navajñe pūjānam tathā || ... 27 madhyapadme padānām ca navakam parikrītām |  
 ... 31 māyameyā 'tha (conj. 'nie Cod.) kamale caturthe tu padam śrīmat || ... iti  
 vidyūpadānām ca svarūpeṇa prakāṣitam || 38 atha brahmapadānām ca lakṣaṇam  
 cadvadhāraya.

See *Paṅkarakarṣaṇā* 27.274–276: śāntasaṃvītsarūpaṣya *spandānanda-*  
*mayāmanah* || *taudcituṣ* hi *citspandam* *svayaṃ parinatam*  
*smaret* || 275 *sahasraśaśi* *yoginprabhayā prajñalanā* *sihram* ||  
*marciakrasapāṇadigarbhaḥ sarvatomukhaḥ* || 276 *cidambaraṇtarāvasthām*  
*śuśāntam bhogavatpadam*; *Sātalasapāṇā* 3.15cd: *evam jñāta* *sthitīm brahmīṃ*  
*śvānāndaspandalakṣaṇām* (conj.: *śvānāndam* *spandalakṣaṇām* Ed.); also  
5.99–101b: *loliṭhībhi* *abhedena smaret turyātmā purā* || *nīyoditām* *ca supade*  
*sthitam aspandalakṣaṇām* || 100 *ātharītuṃ yam icchet* *tu viśeṣayaktikāḷakṣaṇām*  
*saṃkalpa* *tu vavubuddhyā tu tātkālasānanantaram* || 101 *dhruva* *sāmārti* *kyāśaktir-*  
*vai spandatām* *et* *ca svayaṃ*; *Vāśudevalpa* 1 at 165ab: *cicchaktau* *tu layam kṛtvā*  
*śvānāndaspandagocare*; 238–241b: *mānasena* *tu \*yōgena* (conj.: *yōgena* draft  
Ed.) *dravyaiḥ śaṃkalpajaiḥ śubhaiḥ* || *hṛdambujapare turye* *\*cidbhāsarūpam*  
(corr.: *cidbhāsa rūpam* draft Ed.) *uttamam* || 239 *dhambagolābhākāraṇa*



Nor was the influence of the Śaivism of the Mantramārga confined to the formative period of the Tantric Pañcarātra. For, as I have shown elsewhere, the *Lakṣmītantra* and *Ahīrabudhnyasamhitā*, works composed in the South, derive their distinctive doctrinal character from the assimilation of the dynamic non-dualism of the works of the Kashmirian Śākta Śaivas from Utpaladeva (fl. c. A.D. 925–975) to Kṣemarāja (fl. c. 1000–1050).<sup>84</sup>

#### ROYAL PATRONAGE OF BUDDHISM

Buddhism enjoyed widespread royal support during this period, notably from the Viṣṇukūṇḍis of Āndhra in the fifth and sixth centuries, from the Maitrakas of Valabhī in Saurāṣṭra in the sixth and seventh, from the Kārkoṭas of Kashmir in the eighth, and throughout our period from the Licchavi and 'Thākuri' kings of Nepal and various dynasties of eastern India, most notably the Pālas (r. c. 750–1200).

#### The Viṣṇukūṇḍis of Āndhra

Among the eight successive Viṣṇukūṇḍis (r. c. 375–612) known to us from inscriptions three of the last six are known to have been patrons of Buddhism: the third, Govindavarman I (r. c. 422–462), the fifth, Vikramendrarvarman I (r. c. 502–527), and the seventh, Vikramendrarvarman II (r. c. 555–572). In the Tummala-guḍem plates (Set I) issued by Mahārāja Govindavarman I he is described as having beautified his kingdom with many temples and Buddhist monasteries, as having given generously to brahmins and Buddhist monks, as having resolved to attain the Great Awakening for the salvation of all living beings, and as having donated two villages—the charter's object is to record this grant—to fund the

expenses of a Buddhist monastery founded by his chief queen Paramadevi.<sup>85</sup> A second set of plates discovered at Tunimalaguḍem contains a charter issued by Vikramendrarvarman II which records his granting a village for the support of the Buddhist community at this monastery. The founder's husband Govindavarman I is described as having beautified the whole of the Deccan with splendid Stūpas and monasteries, and Vikramendrarvarman I, his grandson and the grandfather of Vikramendrarvarman II, is identified as *paramasaugataḥ* 'entirely devoted to the Buddha'.<sup>86</sup> However, in a charter issued by Vikramendrarvarman II in the previous year, recording a grant of a village to a Śaiva temple, he is referred to

<sup>85</sup> SANKARANARAYANAN 1977:1, II.8–24: *anekadevāyanavīhārasabhāprapāṭadako-dapānārēmapratīsamskārāpūrvakaraṇenālamkṛtasakaladigantareṇa bhikṣu-dejanāthayācakavyādhitadīnakṛpūṇajānopabhuḥjāmanānyāyādhigatavibhava-dhanasamudayenāsakṛd asakṛt svasarvasvatyāginā ... sakalasattvadātutānāy-yopādātamaśāboddhicittena mahārājāśrīgovindavarmanā ... svasyā āgramahīsvāḥ paramadevīyā : ihāsyā dipadhūpagandhapuṣpadhvaḥjapānabhajanaśāyanāśānag-lānabhaḥjāṇākhāṇḍasphuṭilāśīrasaṃskārādīkūśalanūlanūchedārīḥm dvār-ermad[ā]lāp[re]p[re]kapaṇunāmadhēyau grāmau udakādānapūrvakam atīsr[ā]su 'In order that his roots of merit should not be cut off, through [the provision of funds for] such [expenses] as lamps, incense, scents, flowers, banners, drinking water, food, beds, seats, medicines for sick [monks], and repairs to whatever is broken, cracked, and delapidated, the two villages named Ermadāla and Preṅkaparu have been donated to the monastery of his chief queen Paramadevi with the [due] pouring of water [into the hand of the recipient] by Mahārāja Govindavarman, who has adorned all parts [of his kingdom] through his unprecedented provision of numerous temples, Buddhist monasteries, meeting halls, fountains, reservoirs, wells, and gardens, all of whose great wealth, lawfully acquired, is being enjoyed by Buddhist monks, brahmins, the unprotected, supplicants, the sick, the wretched, and the poor, who has [in this way] repeatedly given away all his property, and who has generated the intention to attain the Great Awakening for the salvation of all living beings'.*

<sup>86</sup> SANKARANARAYANAN 1977:8, II.10–18: *paramasaugatasya mahārājāśrīvikrame-nrasya sūnor ... śrī-indrabhaṭṭārakavarmaṇaḥ priyasūnos ... śrīmājn vikrame-nrabhaṭṭārakavarmā ... ittham avabodhayati* 'Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarmā, beloved son of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarmā, the son of *paramasaugataḥ* Mahārāja Vikramendra informs you as follows'; II.24–33: *atibahuprakāramanoramo-darakaṃmādhutastūpavihāraśūlāmanibhir alamkṛtasakaladākṣiṇāpathasya ... śrīgovindarājasya mūrtimatīṇ śrīyaṃ praty avīṣayīkṛtamanorathāy para-mabhaṭṭārīkāmāhadevīyā śrīmadindrapuram uccair alamkṛtakāmayeva prati-ṣṭhāpīte śrīmatī paramabhaṭṭārīkāmāhadevīyā ... cāturdāsāryavara-bhikṣusamghaparibhogāya ... irundorā nāma grāmo dattāḥ* 'I have donated the village called Irundorā for the use of the community of excellent monks of the four directions in the venerable Paramabhaṭṭārīkāmāhadevīyā that was founded by Paramabhaṭṭārīkāmāhadevī as though desiring to bestow great beauty on Indrapura, fulfilling [thereby] the desire for embodied [royal] splendour of [her husband] King Govinda, who adorned the whole of the Deccan with splendid Stūpas and monasteries that were marvelous in their most various, charming, and noble workmanship'.

*sūryayutasaṃprabham* || *svānandāspandarūpaṃ* ca saṃcintyātmanā ātmana || 240 *parānandāsvabhāvaskha vetti yāḥ pūjanāṃ vibhāḥ* || *tenārcitenārcitāṃ vai dvīsaptaḥkṛtānāmāṇā* || 241 *vīṣam dyāvāprthivī ca sadēvāsauramānuṣaṃ*; and 274c–275: *tanmadhye viśṭarasthaṃ ca lakṣmīṃ saṃpūjya pūrvataḥ* || *tīnyaset svadarīṇā ca gurur vai prapūyagataḥ* || *ānandaspaṇḍarūpām* (corr. *rūpaṃ* draft Ed.) *cāpy amṛtāmṛtarūpiṇīm*. On *spandaḥ* in Satka 2–4 of the *Jayadrathayāmala* see SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 365–366, 406, fn. 579. The term also occurs in the earlier first Satka, f. 190v4–5 (45.121–123b): *nīstarāṅgarājavāhārāḥ paritṛpta-ka- parūparah* || *sulāntamūrtiḥ sarvātmā nirvāṇeṣo 'tīnirmalaḥ* || 122 *tayā dāhīḥ svakaṃ vīryaṃ cīddhāmānandagocaram* || *vyaktaṃ vyaktivibhedena spandanānandasundaram* || 123 *taddharmadharmaṇi jīyā śaktir ādyā śivasya sū*. For evidence that the first Satka of the *Jayadrathayāmala* once formed an independent whole to which Satkas 2–4 were added in Kashmir at a later date see SANDERSON 2002, pp. 2 and 22, n. 13, and 2005b, pp. 278–283.

<sup>84</sup> For the evidence see SANDERSON 2001, pp. 35–38. For some other Śaiva features in Pañcarātrika texts see RASTELL 2007, pp. 209, 214, and 224–225.



as *paramamāheśvaraḥ*, as is his father Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman,<sup>87</sup> drawing to our attention that if a king supported Buddhism he did not necessarily cease to support other faiths or abandon his own.

#### The Maitrakas of Valabhi

Of the land-grant documents of the Maitrakas of Valabhi three quarters are records of grants to brahmins, but the remaining quarter report grants made by these kings to Buddhist institutions.<sup>88</sup> Guhasena (r.c. 553–569) has the epithet *paramopāsakaḥ* 'devout lay Buddhist',<sup>89</sup> Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya (r.c. 595–612) is praised for his support of Buddhism in the east-Indian *Rājavyākaraṇa* of the Buddhist Tantric *Mañjuśrīyāmūlakalpa*<sup>90</sup> and by the Chinese Huili in his account of the Indian travels of Xuanzang;<sup>91</sup> and the latter, who visited the kingdom of Valabhi in the 630s, when the Maitraka Dhruvasena II was on the throne, reports that the king had recently developed a sincere faith in Buddhism and become a generous donor to the monastic community.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, Valabhi became a major centre of Mahāyāna Buddhist scholarship during this period, producing such eminent figures as Sthiramati (fl. c. 510–570), for whom a monastery was established in Valabhi during the reign of Guhasena.<sup>93</sup> In their inscriptions, how-

ever, Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, Dhruvasena II, and generally Guhasena too, appear like almost all the other Maitrakas with the epithet *paramamāheśvaraḥ*.<sup>94</sup>

#### The Kārkoṭas of Kashmir

No inscriptions have survived from the reigns of the kings of the Kārkoṭa dynasty of Kashmir. But from the account of this dynasty given by the Kashmiri historian Kalhaṇa we learn that although, as we have seen, the temples they established with their names were Viṣṇu's,<sup>95</sup> they or those closely associated with them also established several Buddhist foundations: the Anantabhavanavihāra founded by the queen of Durlabhavardhana (r.c. 626–662); the Prakāśikāvihāra founded by Prakāśadevī, queen of Candrāpiḍa (r.c. 712–720/1); the Rājavihāra 'The King's Monastery' founded and richly endowed by Lalitāditya (r.c. 725–761/2) with a large Caitya and a huge Buddha image at his new capital Parihāsapura; the Kayyavihāra, founded during the rule of the same by Kayya, a king of Lāṭa; a Vihāra, a Stūpa, and golden Buddha images established at Parihāsapura by Lalitāditya's Central Asian chief minister Cankuṇa; a Vihāra and a Caitya established by the same in the capital; and a large monastery and three Buddha images established by Jayāpiḍa (r.c. 773/4–804/5) in his new capital Jayapura.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>87</sup> The Chikkula plates of Vikramendrarvarman (SANKARANARAYANAN 1977:7), II. 15–19: *parama[mā]heśvarasya mahārājasya śrī-indrabhaṭṭarakavarma[ḥ] priyaye-ṣṭhaputro ... paramamāheśvaro mahārāja[ḥ] śrīmān vikramendravarmā evam ā-jñāpayati.*

<sup>88</sup> SCHMIEDCHEN 2007, p. 360.

<sup>89</sup> SCHMIEDCHEN 1993, p. 84.

<sup>90</sup> *Mañjuśrīyāmūlakalpa* 53.537d–540: *samudratīraparyantaṃ lādānām janapade tatāḥ || 38 tilāhuvo nāma nṛpatīḥ buddhānām śāsane rataḥ || purīm valabhya saṃprāpto dharmarāja bhaviyati || 39 vīhārān dhātūvarān citrān śrīyase (em.: śreyasām Ed.) prāṇinām tatāḥ || kārayiyati yuktātmā bhūpatir dharmavatsalaḥ || 40 pūjām ca vividhākārām jinabimbām manoramām | pūjayed dhātūvarān agryān lokanāthebhya yasaṃviṣu | nāsau mantrasiddhas tu kevalam karmajotamaḥ* 'In the land of the Lāṭas up to the shore of the (western) ocean a king called Śīla, devoted to the teaching of the Buddhas, will become a Dharmarāja in the city of Valabhi. That royal friend of Buddhism, of well-disciplined mind, will build monasteries and beautiful relic Stūpas for the welfare of living beings. (He will establish) the manifold worship of beautiful images of the Buddha; and he will venerate the most excellent of the relics of the renowned Buddhas. He will not achieve success through [the Buddhist Way of] Mantras, but will excel simply through acts of [lay] piety'. For the east-Indian origin of the text see *Mañjuśrīyāmūlakalpa* 53.627a: *gauḍadeśe 'smiṇ;* and 53.810a: *prācyadeśe 'smiṇ.*

<sup>91</sup> BEAL 1914, p. 148.

<sup>92</sup> *Xiyu ji*, vol. 2, pp. 267–268. For a detailed account and analysis of religious patronage under the Maitrakas during the sixth and seventh centuries see NJAMMASCH 2001, pp. 199–278.

<sup>93</sup> On the dates of Sthiramati and the evidence that a monastery was established for him see FRAUWALLNER 1961, pp. 136 ff.

<sup>94</sup> See, e.g., the Alīṇā copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of A.D. 766/7, CII:39.

There all the kings listed are said to be *paramamāheśvaraḥ*: the general Bhaṭṭārka, the founder of the dynasty, followed, after an unspecified number of generations, by Guhasena, Dharasena (II), Śīlāditya (I), Kharagraha (I), Dharasena (III), Dhruvasena (II), Dharasena (IV), Dhruvasena (III), Kharagraha (II), Śīlāditya (II), Śīlāditya (III), Śīlāditya (IV), Śīlāditya (V), and Śīlāditya (VI). In the Māliya copper-plate inscription of Dharasena II, A.D. 571/2, we are given the names of the Maitrakas who ruled between the founder Bhaṭṭārka and Dharasena II. They are Dharasena I, Droupasinha, Dhruvasena I, and Dharapaṭṭa. Of these the first two have the epithet *paramamāheśvaraḥ*; Dhruvasena is here a Viṣṇava (*paramabhāgavataḥ*) rather than a Buddhist (*paramopāsakaḥ*); and Dharapaṭṭa is a devotee of the Sun-God (*paramādityabhaktaḥ*). It seems that in the later years of the Maitraka dynasty, when Śaivism had become firmly established as the religion of this dynasty, there was a desire to forget those early rulers, Dhruvasena and Dharapaṭṭa, whose religious preference had deviated. This practice of beginning the account of lineage with Bhaṭṭārka and then jumping to Guhasena and his successors, so that all the kings have the epithet *paramamāheśvaraḥ*, is already seen in the Dana plates of Dhruvasena II issued in 634/5 (EI 42:15).

<sup>95</sup> See here, p. 60.

<sup>96</sup> *Rājataranginī* 4.3 (Anāgabavhana); 4.79 (Prakāśikāvihāra); 4.200–205 (Rājavihāra etc.); 4. 210 (Kayyavihāra); 4.211 and 215 (the foundations of Cankuṇa); and 4.507 (the foundations of Jayāpiḍa). For the vestiges of Lalitāditya's Rājavihāra, his Caitya, and Cankuṇa's Stūpa at Parihāsapura (Paraspar) see Krishna DEVA in EITA vol.2, pt. 1, pp. 366–367; plates 722–727. Cankuṇa is evidently a rendering of the Chinese military title *jiangjun* 'General' rather than a name.



## The Licchavis of Nepal

In the Kathmandu valley the inscriptions of kings throughout our period show their devotion to Śiva. But here too, where Buddhism and Śaivism co-existed among the Newars down to the present, there is ample evidence of royal support for the former. The Licchavi Vṛṣadeva is described in an inscription of his eighth-century descendant Jayadeva as having inclined towards Buddhism;<sup>97</sup> a view confirmed by a local chronicle, which attributes to him the establishing of Buddhist images;<sup>98</sup> and in the first half of the seventh century Xuanzang claims that the king of Nepal was a sincere believer.<sup>99</sup> The *Gopālārājavarṇāvalī*, the earliest of the local chronicles, compiled during the reign of Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395),<sup>100</sup> claims that the Caitya at Guṃvihāra and a monastery, the Mānavihāra, were established by Mānadeva, the Caitya of the Sinagu-vihāra (the Svayambhūnāth Caitya) by Vṛṣadeva,<sup>101</sup> the Dharmadevacaitya (the Cābahil Caitya) by Dharmadeva, a monastery and the Khasaucāitya (the Bodhnāth Caitya)<sup>102</sup> by Śivadeva, the Phuṭovihāra and a Caitya by Campādeva, the Rājavihāra by Aṃśuvarman, the Devalavihāra by Devaladeva, and a monastery at Nandīśālā by Śivadeva. To Narendradeva and his Buddhist preceptor Bandhudatta it attributes the instituting of the annual chariot festival (*yātrā*) of the popular Newar Buddhist deity Bugmalokeśvara

(Būgadyah/Karunāmaya-Matsyendranāth).<sup>103</sup> Unsurprisingly, the Amarāvati-mahāvihāra (Būga Bāhāh) at Bungamati, the home of Bugmalokeśvara, claims to have been founded by him.<sup>104</sup>

Mānadeva's dated inscriptions range in date from 459 to 505/6,<sup>105</sup> and we know from his Cāṅgunārāyaṇa inscription that Vṛṣadeva was his great-grandfather and Dharmadeva his father.<sup>106</sup> The claim that he founded a monastery with his own name, the Mānavihāra, is confirmed by its mention in an undated inscription assigned to his reign.<sup>107</sup> The epigraphical dates of Śivadeva range from 590/1 to 604/5.<sup>108</sup> There is another Licchavi with the same name, with inscriptions ranging from 694 to 705,<sup>109</sup> but it is unlikely that it is the second that is intended, since grants of villages to the Śivadevavihāra have been mentioned in two inscriptions dated in 679, during the reign of his predecessor.<sup>110</sup> The inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman range from 593 to 615,<sup>111</sup> and

<sup>97</sup> *LKA* 148, l. 9: *sugataśāsanapakṣapātī*.

<sup>98</sup> *LEVI* 1990, vol. 2, p. 98.

<sup>99</sup> *Mya ji*, vol. 2, p. 81.

<sup>100</sup> The *Gopālārājavarṇāvalī*, preserved in a single, palm-leaf manuscript that has lost the first sixteen of its folios, consists of three originally separate parts. The first (ff. 17r–30v) covers the period down to 1386. Its coverage of the period before the reign of Anantamalla (1274–1307) (ff. 17r–26r) consists of little more than a list of kings, the lengths of their reigns, in some cases a record of their religious foundations and a few contemporary events such as plagues and famines and rituals undertaken to avert them. From f. 26v to f. 29r it is a little more forthcoming. The last entry it records is dated in 1379. Up to this point the text is in a low register of Sanskrit. The remainder of the first part, f. 29v–30v, is written in Old Newari in a more annalistic style and extends the account down to 1386. The second text (ff. 30v–36r), in Old Newari mixed with Sanskrit, covers the years 1056/7 to 1275/6. It consists for the most part of chronological genealogy, giving dates of birth, length of reign, and age at death. The third (ff. 36v–63v + another f. 50), in Old Newari, is an annalistic chronicle whose main concern is to record religious foundations, with entries extending from 1258/9 to 1388/9. See PETECH 1984, p. 6.

<sup>101</sup> The manuscript gives the name Viśvadeva here, but as the editors propose, this is surely an error for Vṛṣadeva (f. 20r2–3): *rāja śrīviśvadeva varja 100 tena kṛta sinaguvihāra caityabhatārke pratishṭhita sampārpa kṛtam*. The identification of this with the famous Svayambhūnāth Caitya is evident from the name Sinagu, which corresponds to Syangu, its modern Newari name.

<sup>102</sup> This identification follows from the fact that the Bodhnāth Stūpa is known as Khasa Caitya in Newari. On these early Nepalese Caityas—this term rather than Stūpa is the normal usage in Nepal—see GUTSCHOW 1997, pp. 85–99.

<sup>103</sup> *Gopālārājavarṇāvalī* f. 20v5: Caitya at Guṃvihāra; f. 21r1: Mānavihāra; f. 20v2–3: Caitya at Svayambhū; f. 21r3: Dharmadevacāitya; f. 21v1: Khasaucāitya; f. 21v2: Phuṭovihāra and Caitya; f. 22v1: Aṃśuvarman's Rājavihāra; f. 22v3: Devalavihāra; f. 22v5: Śivadeva's monastery; and ff. 22v5–23r1 (the festival of Būgadyah): *śrī narendradeva varja 35 tasya ācāryabandhudattadvayena śrībugmalokeśvarabhatārakasya jātrā kṛtā bhavati* 'Narendradeva: [reigned for] 35 years. Jointly with his Ācārya Bandhudatta he established the festival of Lord Bugmalokeśvara'. On the festival of Būgadyah, also known (in Nepali) as Bāto ('Red') Matsyendranāth, which is still a major event in the Kathmandu valley, see LOCKE 1980, pp. 244–280.

<sup>104</sup> See the tabulated list of the eighteen principal monasteries of Patan and their founders in LOCKE 1980, pp. 32–33. He includes the Būga Bāhāh at its end, noting that it stands apart, not being counted among the principal monasteries of either Patan or Kathmandu.

<sup>105</sup> In the Licchavi inscriptions of *LKA* the earliest date is 464/5 (no. 2) and the latest 505/6 (no. 19). An earlier inscription, dated in Vaiśākha 381 (=A.D. 459), which came to light during renovation work at the Paśupati temple, has been published (DHAKAL 1990). The earliest Licchavi dates are in the Śaka era, which was used until the time of Aṃśuvarman, the last recorded Śaka date being 526 (A.D. 604/5) in *LKA* 69 and 70. Thereafter the inscriptions are dated in a new era, often called Aṃśuvarman's, which commenced in A.D. 576, and continued in use until the introduction of a new era in Kārtika 879, which has remained in use down to modern times.

<sup>106</sup> *LKA* 2, side 1, l. 8–side 2, l. 3: *rājābhūṭ vṛṣadevaḥ ... yasyābhūṭ tanayaḥ ... rājā śaṅkaradeva ity anupa[mo] ... devī rājavarālī tu tasya nṛpater bhāryā ... yasyām jāta ... śrīmānadevo nṛpaḥ*.

<sup>107</sup> *LKA* 18, l. 18: *kṣetram cākṣayam dattam [śrī]mānavihāre*.

<sup>108</sup> *LKA* 54 and 70.

<sup>109</sup> *LKA* 138 and 143.

<sup>110</sup> *LKA* 133, ll. 4–11 and 134, ll. 4–12: *ayam grāma ... śrīśivadevavihā[re] caturdisāryabhiḥ kusanghāyasmābhir atisṛṣṭaḥ* 'I have given this village to the congregation of noble monks of the four directions at the Śivadevavihāra'.

<sup>111</sup> *LKA* 59 and 85.



the Rājavihāra attributed to him by the chronicle is mentioned in one of these, dated in 608. It also mentions the Mānavihāra and the Guṇavihāra, showing the accuracy of the report of the chronicle that these three monasteries are ancient Licchavi foundations. Moreover, it does so in a context that enables us to gauge their relative importance. For it fixes cash allowances from the court (*rājakulam*) to a large number of religious foundations and these are ranked into two groups. The upper comprises the temple of Bhagavat Paśupati, the national Śiva, to whom all Nepalese kings from the time of Aṇṣuvarman onwards have declared their allegiance,<sup>112</sup> Dolāśikharaśvāmin (Cāṅgunārāyaṇa), the principal Viṣṇu of Nepal, then these three Buddhist monasteries, and two others not mentioned by the chronicle, the Kharjūrīkāvihāra and the Madhyamavihāra. All of these are to receive the same allowance; and this is twice that to be received by the institutions listed in the lower group. That comprises "the ordinary monasteries" and the temples of various other deities, most of whom are Śivas, including Māneśvara, evidently the temple of a Liṅga installed by Mānadeva with his name.<sup>113</sup> Narendra, whom the chronicle reports to have instituted the annual chariot festival of Bugmalokeśvara, has dated inscriptions from 643 to 679.<sup>114</sup> The last two, issued in 679 and mentioned above for their reference to the Śivadevavihāra, record the granting of villages to that monastery; and the Chinese envoy Wang Huan-ce reported that when he had an audience with

Narendradeva in 643 the king's belt was adorned with a Buddha.<sup>115</sup> But here too we see that the support of Buddhism in Nepal as elsewhere was not a sign that a king had changed his religious allegiance in any radical sense. For in both of those inscriptions Narendradeva has the epithet *paramamahādeśvara*.<sup>116</sup>

### The Thākuri Kings of Nepal

Between the Licchavis, who last appear in the epigraphical record in 737, and the Malla kings, who ruled from 1200–1768, lies the relatively obscure period of the so-called Thākuri kings. These too, though predominantly Śaiva, supported Buddhist institutions. Only one, Siṃhadeva (r. 1110–1126), has been declared *paramasaugata*;<sup>117</sup> but several of the monasteries of the Kathmandu valley are attributed to kings of this period in inscriptions, palm-leaf deeds, manuscript colophons, or their own tradition: the Padmacakramahāvihāra to Guṇakāmadeva I,<sup>118</sup> the Jyotirmahāvihāra (Jyo Bāhā) and Datamahāvihāra

<sup>112</sup> See SANDERSON 2005a, p. 417, fn. 254.

<sup>113</sup> LKA 77, ll. 6–15: *bhagavataḥ paśupateḥ pu 6 pa 2 dolāśikharaśvāmināḥ pu 6 pa 2 ++ guṇavihāraśya pu 6 pa 2 śrīmānavihāraśya pu 6 pa 2 śrīrājavihāraśya pu 6 pa 2 kharjūrīkāvihāraśya pu 6 pa 2 ma[dhya]mavihāraśya pu 6 pa 2 sāmānyavihāraśya pu 3 pa 1 rāmeśvaraśya pu 3 pa 1 haṃsaśrghaśvāraśya pu 3 pa 1 māneśvaraśya pu 3 pa 1 sambopuraśya pu 3 pa 1 vāgmatipārādevaśya pu 3 pa 1 dhārāmāneśvaraśya pu 3 pa 1 parvateśvaraśya pu 3 pa 1 naraśiṃhadevaśya pu 3 pa 1 kailāseśvaraśya pu 3 pa 1 bhumbhukikājalasāyanāśya pu 3 pa 1 tadanyadevakuḥlānāḥ pu 2 pa 2 ... 'six Pu[r]āṇas and 2 Pa[ṇ]as) each for Bhagavat Paśupati, Dolāśikharaśvāmin (=Cāṅgunārāyaṇa), the Guṇavihāra, the Mānavihāra, the Rājavihāra, the Kharjūrīkāvihāra, and the Madhyamavihāra; 3 Pu[r]āṇas and 1 Pa[ṇ]a each for the ordinary Vihāras, and [the temples of Śiva] Rāmeśvara, the Lord of the Haṃsaśrgha (=Viṣṇu Lokapālaśvāmin), [Śiva] Māneśvara, Sāmba[śiva], Vāgmatipārādeva [Śiva], [Śiva] Dhārāmāneśvara, [Śiva] Parvateśvara, Naraśiṃhadeva, [Śiva] Kailāseśvara, and the [Viṣṇu] Jalasāyana of Bhumbhukikā (=the Viṣṇu of Budhanilkanth); 2 Pu[r]āṇas and 2 Pa[ṇ]as for the temples other than these ...'. The Kharjūrīkāvihāra calls to mind the Stūpa which the Buddha predicts in the *Mālasarvāstivādaśāyana* will be built by the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kanishka at Kharjūrīkā four hundred years after his Parinirvāṇa (Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 1, l. 20–2, l. 15: *bhagavān kharjūrīkāṃ anuprāptaḥ | ... eṣa catuṣṣaśatoparinirvṛtasya mama vajrapāṇe kanishko nāma rāja bhaviṣyati | so 'smin pradēśe stūpaṃ pratiṣṭhāpayati | tasya kanishkastūpa itī samjñā bhaviṣyati*).*

<sup>114</sup> LKA 123–134.

<sup>115</sup> The report of this encounter has been incorporated in chapter 221 of the *Jiu Tang-shu* (Old History of the Tang Dynasty), covering the years 618–906 and compiled in 940–945. In a translation of this passage published by Sylvain LÉVI (1894, p. 67) we read 'Leur roi Na-ling ti-po (Narendra Deva) ... a ... des breloques à sa ceinture, ornées d'un Fou-tou (Buddha)'. In a footnote he explains the question mark, saying that the use of *fou-tou* for 'Buddha' in the seventh century is problematic. But when he re-published his translation (1905a, vol. 1, p. 164) he removed the question mark.

<sup>116</sup> LKA 133, ll. 1–3: *bhagavatpaśupatiḥbhaṭṭārakapādānugrhitō bappapādānudhyāto licchavikulaketuḥ paramamahādeśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīnarendradevaḥ kuśālī gullagaṅgrāmanisāśināḥ pradhānapurāḥsardā sarvakutumbināḥ samājñāpayati* 'Favoured by the venerable lord Paśupati, devoted to his venerable father, the banner of the Licchavi dynasty, entirely devoted to Śiva, the supreme Lord, the paramount king Narendradeva greets the elders and all the other householders who live in Gullagaṅga village and commands them [as follows]'. The same formula is seen in 134, ll. 1–4. Only the name of the village differs.

The historicity of Campādeva and Devaladeva, the remaining two kings mentioned by the *Gopālārājavamsāvalī* as the founders of monasteries, is doubtful. They appear nowhere in the corpus of known Licchavi inscriptions, and in the local chronicles only in the *Gopālārājavamsāvalī*, which places the first between Śivadeva and Narendradeva and the second before Dhruvavarman—another name found only in this source—and Bhīmārjunadeva.

<sup>117</sup> Colophon of ASB MS 9973 (SHĀSTRĪ 1917, pp. 4–5): *paramasaugataśrīmatsiṃhadevaśya vijayarāje*.

<sup>118</sup> PETECH (1984, p. 40) quotes the following colophon of an *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* MS (NAK 3-359) that he wrongly reports as *Catupīṭhanibandha*: *samvat 100 60 5 śrāvāṇasukuladasiṃyāṃ śikṛudine | rāje śrībhikṣadevaśya | śrīguṇakāmadevakārite śrīpadmacakramahāvihāre sthitaśākyabhiṣṭakumārācandṛeṇa likhitam* 'Copied by Śākyabhiṣṭa Kumārācandra, resident of the Padmacakramahāvihāra founded by Guṇakāmadeva, on Friday, the bright tenth of Śrāvāṇa, in the year 165 during the reign of Bhāskaradeva'. The date of copying is 26 July 1045 (PETECH, loc. cit.).



(Dau Bahāh) to Rudradeva I (c. 1007–1018) or Rudradeva II (1167–1175), the Hiranyavarṇamahāvihāra (Kw Bahāh) and the Pāravatamahāvihāra (Itum Bahāh) to Bhaskaradeva (1039–1048), the Mayūravarnamahāvihāra (Bhich Bahāh) to Sankaradeva (1069–1082), the Tedovihāra (Te Bahāh) to Śivadeva (1098–1126), the Jayamanoharavarnamahāvihāra (Su Bahāh) and Asanaloakesvaramahāvihāra, also called Kacchapālagirimahāvihāra (Co Bahāh) to Indradeva (1126–1136), the Cakravartamahāvihāra (Cūka Bahāh) to Mānadeva (1136–1140), the Rudravarnamahāvihāra / Unkulimahāvihāra (Uku/U Bahāh), the Manipurajivamahāvihāra, and the Bandhudattamahāvihāra to Narendradeva (1140–1147), and the Śrīvatsavahāra (Atha Bahāh) to Anandadeva (1147–1167).<sup>120</sup> However, it is possible in the cases of Sankaradeva, Śivadeva, Mānadeva, and Narendradeva, that the attribution intended was to their Licchavi namesakes.

We have very little evidence for the reigns of these Thākuris, but what there is suffices to remove any suspicion that they were Buddhists to the exclusion of Śaivism. According to the local chronicles Guṇakāmadeva made lavish donations to the temple of Paśupati.<sup>121</sup> Sankaradeva established a temple of a Śiva with his name (Sankarēśvara),<sup>122</sup> and Śivadeva gilded the roof of the temple of Paśupati,

<sup>120</sup> For these monasteries and the names of the kings by whom they are said to have been founded (*saṃskṛta*-, *karita*-) see LOCKE 1980, pp. 32–33, and 1985, pp. 29, 42, 74, 79, 82, 91, 95, 133, 140, 148. The dates of the reigns of these kings are as determined by PETECH 1984.

<sup>121</sup> Kaiser library Vamśāvali fragment (PETECH 1984, Appendix), p. 2: *rāja śrīguṇakāmadeva varṣa 85 māsa 6 || tena śrīpaśupatiḥṭṭāraḥkaya ekādśaślokaṃ pradiṭam tatraiva śrīśaivaraḥṭṭāraḥkaya tāsakṣiḥṭṭāraḥkaya tāmrasaṃkhalācchādanam kṛya tatraiva "dirgha"copārhikā (conj. : copātrika Ed.) kṛya tatraiva suvarṇapanāli kōṭikomaṃ kṛya cti || rāja śrī udayadeva varṣa 6 || rāja śrī nīrṇāyadeva varṣa 5 || King Guṇakāmadeva: 85 years and 6 months. He donated eleven [metal] Linga[s] sheaths to Lord Paśupati. At the same place he covered [the roofs of the shrines] of Lord Śaivara and [the Nāga] Lord Vāsuli with copper [sheets (?), built a long rest-house and a golden water conduit, and performed a fire-sacrifice with ten million oblations]. King Udayadeva: 6 years; King Nīrṇāyadeva 5 years || ...; cf. *Gopālārjyaśāstrī* f. 23v1–2: *rāja śrīguṇakāmadeva varṣa 85 māsa 6 tena śrīpaśupatiḥṭṭāraḥkaya ekādśa kṣa saṃpradattā || tatraiva-m īśaivaraḥṭṭāraḥkaya tāmrasaṃkhalācchādanam kṛya || tatraiva dirghacopārhikā kṛya tatraiva suvarṇapanāli (kṛyā) kōṭikoma pūrṇa kṛtam. The word śaṃsalya (śaṃkhalā or śaṃkhalā) is evidently for Skt. śṅkhalā, śṅkhalikā 'chain'. I have conjectured the meaning 'sheet' considering the design of the Paśupati temple, whose roof is covered with interlocking metallic plates. panāli = prāṇāli. With "copārhikā (conj.) cf. Classical Newari *copārhā* (Modern Newari *capāh*) 'rest-house' (TAMOT et al. 2000, s.v.).**

<sup>122</sup> Kaiser library Vamśāvali fragment (PETECH 1984, Appendix), p. 4: *rāja śrīśankaradeva varṣa 17 || tena hi nandīśālayam saṃkar-āreṣvarabhaṭṭāraḥkaya pratīṣṭitā devakulam ca pūrṇam kṛya rāṣṭrasāntika + + + + tīkṣṇā ca prācchāsta* 'King Sankaradeva: 17 years. He established [a Linga] for Lord Sankarēśvara and completed a temple [for him]. He also undertook the con-

struction of the god's silver lotus, and donated a golden image of Śiva.<sup>123</sup> Both Indradeva and Anandadeva have the epithet *paramaśaiva*- attached to their names in the colophons of manuscripts copied during their reigns;<sup>124</sup> and an inscription of 1143/4 records that Anandadeva, while he was the heir apparent (Yuvarāja), received Śaiva initiation from the Saiddhāntika Guru Rudraśiva of Benares, together with the princes Vasantadeva, Someśvara, Yaśomalla, and Arjunadeva:<sup>125</sup>

struction of the ... monastery in order to avert danger from the kingdom' (I conjecture *rāṣṭrasāntikarājā* for *rāṣṭrasāntika* + + ); cf. *Gopālārjyaśāstrī* f. 24r1–2: *rāja śrī śankaradeva varṣa 15 tena ca nandīśālayam saṃkarēṣvarabhaṭṭāraḥkaya pratīṣṭitam tāmrasaṃkhalācchādanam kṛtam devakulam || puna bhagavati manahara bhaṭṭāraḥkaya pratīṣṭitā || rāṣṭrasānti bhavati* 'King Sankaradeva: 15 years. He established [a Linga of] Sankarēṣvarabhaṭṭāraḥkaya at Nandīśālā and covered the temple with a copper roof. He also established Bhagavati Manahara. This brought about the averting of danger from the kingdom'.

<sup>123</sup> Kaiser library Vamśāvali fragment (PETECH 1984, Appendix III), pp. 4–5: *rāja śrīśivadeva varṣa 27 māsa 7 || tena hi paśupatiḥṭṭāraḥkaya suvarṇaśrī(khalī)chādanam kṛta ... śrīmatpaśupatiḥṭṭāraḥkaya rajatapadma punar ghaṭita* 'King Śivadeva: 27 years and 7 months. He covered [the temple of] Paśupatiḥṭṭāraḥkaya with gilded metal plates and remade his silver lotus'; cf. *Gopālārjyaśāstrī* f. 24r3–v1.

<sup>124</sup> PETECH 1984, p. 57, colophon of a manuscript of the *Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti* in Tibbet: *śrīmadrājādhirājaparamēśvaraparamabhaṭṭāraḥkayaparamaśaiva-indradevasya śrī-indradevasya vijayarājy*; and PETECH 1984, p. 61, colophon of an *Aṣṭaśaśrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript: + + + *paramabhaṭṭāraḥkayaparamaśaivamahārājādhirājāśrīmadānandadevapravarddhamaṇīkalyāṇavijayarājy*. The scribal date of completion falls in 1134 in the first case and in 1166 in the second.

<sup>125</sup> Vv. 23–25: *asyām śrīraghuvamśamauktika\*mañir jāto janānandanah (ACHARYA: mañi ... datāḥ REGMI) sādṛśa candra ivānṛito 'timadhurair ānandadevaḥ karañ || uccaiḥ śaktidharah kumārpadavim \*prāpto 'pi tair (ACHARYA: prāptocitair REGMI) \*dikṣito [dāntah siddham avarṇa]nyamahimā (ACHARYA: dikṣita ... ya mahimā REGMI) \*prāpt parām aīśvarim (ACHARYA: prāpa ... tyaīśvarim REGMI) || 24 \*śaurye 'rjunasamah (ACHARYA: śaurye 'yam na sama REGMI) \*prekṣya guṇāms teṣu guṇapriyaḥ (ACHARYA : prekṣagūṇā te praguṇapriyaḥ REGMI) || bhaktim 'arjunadevo 'pi vidadhe vibudheṣu iva (ACHARYA: bhaktim arjunam datvā ... vaḥ) REGMI) 25 vasantadevo vijānī \*dhīman (ACHARYA: śrīrān REGMI) someśvaras tatāḥ || yaśomalla\*śa (ACHARYA: śa REGMI) tair eva kumārā dikṣitā amī. The plural pronouns here, *tair dikṣito* in 23c, *guṇāms teṣu* in 24b, and *tair eva* in 25d, are plurals of respect (*ādare bahuvacanam*) and refer to Rudraśiva, who is also referred to in the plural in v. 12: *śiṣya bābhūcūr iha rudraśitā iti*, as is his Guru Mūrtiśiva in v. 8: *bhaṭṭāraḥkaya uditamūrtiśivabhidhanah*. This record that contains these verses, a stone inscription now in the Government Museum in Kathmandu, has been published by REGMI (1965–1966, pt. 3, pp. 13–16) and, in a more complete and accurate form, by ACHARYA (1997) with an annotated Nepali translation. It was subsequently published by TANDAN (1999, part 2, pp. 114–123), adopting only some of ACHARYA's improvements. ACHARYA understands the number 64 in the damaged penultimate line (... *caṭṭhuḥṣṭi ... yata sa* ...) to be the last two digits of the inscription's date. The full number he conjectures to have been 264, which corresponds to A.D. 1143/4. He is surely right, since this is the only +64 date that fits the persons mentioned. Moreover, falling four years before Anandadeva became king the date accords with the information that he was still*



In this [city] was born Ānandadeva, a jewel in the pearl-necklace of the lineage of Raghu, delighting the people like a gentle moon with its most charming rays. Being self-controlled and of indescribable greatness, though he had achieved the status of prince (*kumara*-) of great power (though he had achieved the status [only] of Kumāra who brandishes the javelin), he achieved when initiated by [Rudraśiva] the ultimate attainment of Śiva[hood]. Likewise Arjunadeva, Arjuna's equal in martial valour and a lover of virtues, conceived us great a devotion to this [Rudraśiva] as to the gods, when he had seen his virtues. As for the learned Vasantadeva, the wise Someśvara, and Yaśomalla, those princes too were initiated by the same [Guru].

Neither Arjunadeva nor Yaśomalla are otherwise known from this ill-documented phase of Nepalese history. But we do have records of both a Vasantadeva, who was born in 1112 and died in 1163 but did not rule, and of a Someśvaradeva, who was born in 1119, died in 1182, and ruled from 1178 to 1183/5.<sup>125</sup>

#### The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa

But it was in the region of the modern territories of Bihar, West Bengal, Bangladesh, and Orissa that Buddhism enjoyed its most spectacular success in these centuries. It is only there that we find dynasties whose commitment to Buddhism was such that it was commonly signalled in their inscriptions through the use of such epithets as *paramasaugataḥ* and *paramatāthāgataḥ* 'entirely devoted to the Buddha'. Notable among these are the early Bhauma-Karas of Orissa (r.c. 825–950),<sup>126</sup> the early Candras of southeast Bengal (r.c. 850–1050), and, above all, the Pāla emperors of Gauḍa (r.c. 750–1199), who at the height of their power extended their authority throughout eastern India and beyond.<sup>127</sup>

the Yuvārāja at the time of his initiation.

<sup>125</sup> See PETECH 1984, pp. 64–67 and 71–72, and the Genealogical Table A, p. 229.

<sup>126</sup> The name Bhauma-Kara is Indological. The early inscriptions speak of these rulers as Bhaumas and the later as Karas, evidently after the -kara that ends most of their names.

<sup>127</sup> The Pālas and their successors, the Senas, are regularly described as kings of Gauḍa (*gauḍavarāḥ*, *gauḍendraḥ*, *gauḍarājāḥ*, *gauḍādhipāḥ*, *gauḍapatiḥ*, etc.); see, e.g., SINHA 1983a:26, l. 33 (Lakṣmaṇasena); here pp. 108 (Nayapāla) and 109 (Palapāla, Mahipāla); *Saduktikarṇāmrta* 1449, 1496. The name Gauḍa in its narrow sense refers to a territory covering parts of West Bengal, being distinguished from Magadha, Vaṅga, and Āṅga. But with expansion of the power of its rulers it came to denote a much larger territory. Thus Campā in modern Bihar, the capital of ancient Āṅga, is described as the capital of Gauḍa in the *Anargharāghava* (Act 7, prose before v. 124: *campā nāma gauḍānām ... rājadhāni*), and Kauśāmbī, about 35 miles south-west of Allahabad, is said to be in it in the *Hitopadeśa* (*Mitrālābha*, *Kathā* 5, p. 19: *asti gauḍaviṣṭaye kauśāmbī nāma nagari*).

Of the early Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa Kṣemankara, who probably reigned around the beginning of the ninth century, is described in inscriptions as a *paramopāsakaḥ* 'a dedicated lay Buddhist', his son and successor Śivakara I as *paramatāthāgataḥ*, his son and successor Śubhākara I, as *paramasaugataḥ* and *paramopāsakaḥ*, his son and successor Śivakara II as *śrisugatāśrayaḥ* 'having the venerable Buddha as his refuge', and his son Śubhākara II, who reigned after his father's brother Śāntikara I *alias* Gayāḍa, as *paramasaugataḥ*.<sup>128</sup> A copper-plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī, the Vaiṣṇava (*paramavaiṣṇavi*) wife of Śāntikara I, who occupied the throne as queen after the reign of her son Śubhākara III *alias* Kusumahāra, records that Śubhākara (I), her husband's father, built a lofty Buddhist monastery;<sup>129</sup> another issued by her records that the earlier kings of her line had adorned the land with many Māthas, Buddhist monasteries, and temples;<sup>130</sup> and a third issued c. 980 by the *paramaśeṣvaraḥ* Śivakara III *alias* Lalitahāra, the son of her grandson Śivakara II, records the granting of a village in favour of a temple of the Buddha in Uttaratosali made through him by his vassal Rāṇaka Vinitatunga.<sup>131</sup>

This epigraphical record is meagre, but it is very likely that it was the pa-

<sup>128</sup> EI 15:1 (the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara I), ll. 2–5, and EI 28:36 (the Teruṇḍiā plate of Śubhākara II), ll. 4–13. The religious affiliation of Śāntikara I and of five of the subsequent twelve rulers of this dynasty is not recorded. Among the remainder were two Śaiva kings, Śubhākara IV and his brother and successor Śivakara III, two Vaiṣṇava queens (*paramavaiṣṇavi*), namely Tribhuvanamahādevī I, wife of Śāntikara I, and Tribhuvanamahādevī II, wife of Śubhākara IV, and three Śaiva queens (*paramaśeṣvari*), Daṇḍimahādevī, daughter of Gaurimahādevī, wife and successor of Śubhākara V, Vakulamahādevī, another wife of Śubhākara V, and Dharmamahādevī, her successor and the wife of Śāntikara III. For the approximate dating of these rulers I follow D.C. Sircar's position (1953; EI 29:26, pp. 183–184 and 189–191 [note 2]; SALOMON 1998, pp. 190–191) that the Bhauma-Kara era began c. 831. The Neulpur grant of Śubhākara I was issued in year 8 of this era (EI 15:1, l. 30), i.e. c. 833, and the Teruṇḍiā plate of Śubhākara II in year 100 (EI 28:36, l. 22), i.e. c. 931. The last recorded date is 204 in the reign of Vakulamahādevī, i.e. c. 1035.

<sup>129</sup> EI 29:30, Baud plate A of Tribhuvanamahādevī, ll. 5–6: *sutottamas tasya samāśrayaḥ śrīyaḥ prasādaḥ ūrviṣṭe śubhe śubhākaraḥ | kaler alaṅghyaṃ sukṛtāśrayāya yo vihāram uccair vidadhe śilāmayam* 'His superlative son Śubhākara, the resort of good fortune, [next] excelled ruling the land. To embody his merit he built a lofty monastery of stone which the degenerate age could not enter'.

<sup>130</sup> SHASTRI 1916:G, ll. 7–9: *nirantaraviracitavividhamathavihāraprasādaḥ prabandhair purandarapurārōhaṇasopānabandhair iva maṇḍitamahimārāḍaḥ akhaṇḍalaprabhāveṣu mahārāḣeṣu yatiteṣu* 'After the passing of those Mahārājas, mighty as Indra, who adorned the land with the manifold sequences of Māthas, Vihāras, and temples that they constructed without interruption as though with stairways for ascending to the heaven of Indra ...'.

<sup>131</sup> MISRA 1934:1, Talcher plate of Śivakara II, ll. 25–29.



tenage of these kings that enabled Mahāyāna Buddhism to grow and prosper as it did in Orissa, with the Tantric forms of that religion coming to the fore from the eighth century.<sup>132</sup> This efflorescence is attested by both archaeology and textual evidence. Excavations of the Ratnagirimahāvihāra in the Cuttack district, not far from Guheśvarapāṭaka, the Bhauma-Kara capital at or near the modern Jāyapur, have revealed that this foundation underwent phenomenal expansion up to the twelfth century,<sup>133</sup> and this is only the foremost of several Buddhist sites in Orissa in which Tantric Buddhism is evident in the surviving statuary.<sup>134</sup> The extremely high quality of Ratnagiri's stone-work renders it improbable that it was not a royal foundation. We have at least one Tantric text that reports that it was written here: the *Samvarodaya nāma Maṇḍalopāyikā* of Bhūvācārya, which survives in a Nepalese manuscript copied in 1050 in the Mānadevanmahāvihāra (Chuka Bāhāh)<sup>135</sup> and a manuscript of the *Vimalaprabhā*, the great commentary on the *Kālacakra* tantra, penned in the early decades of the twelfth century, in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Harivarman, has a postscript in another hand added seven years later which locates the manuscript not far from Ratnagiri near the Benga river.<sup>136</sup> Indeed Ratnagiri had a particularly close association with the propagation of that Tantra according to the Tibetan account of the

history of the transmission of its teachings maintained in the lineage that descends from Rva chos rab in the early twelfth century. For that relates that the *Vimalaprabhā* was transmitted by an emanation of Mañjuśrī to Paṇḍita Cilu, a native of Orissa trained at the Ratnagiri monastery, and reached Rva chos rab after being passed on through five intermediaries in Bengal and Bihar.<sup>137</sup> A tradition that Cilu studied the *Kālacakra* tantra in the Ratnagirimahāvihāra before seeking the *Vimalaprabhā* is recorded by Gzhon nu dpal.<sup>138</sup>

### The Candras of South-East Bengal

As for the Candras, they used the wheel of the Buddha's teaching (*dharma-cakram*) as the seal-symbol on their charters; the Paścimbhāg copper-plate grant of Śricandra I (r. c. 925–75) describes both this king and his predecessor Trailokyacandra as *paramasaugatah*;<sup>139</sup> and his Rāmpāl and Madanpur copper-plate grants describe Suvarṇacandra, the predecessor of Trailokyacandra (r. c. 900–925), as a *baudhah* 'a follower of the Buddha's teachings'.<sup>140</sup> After Trailokyacandra came Śricandra (II), Kalyāṇacandra, Laḍahacandra, and Govindacandra. The Maināmatī plates of Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra (r. c. 1000–1020 and c. 1020–1045) provide these names and reveal that the last two were *paramasaugatah*.<sup>141</sup>

### The Khadgas of Samatāṭa

We have epigraphical evidence of three successive generations of kings of the Khadga line ruling the Samatāṭa region of southeast Bengal from about 625 into

<sup>132</sup> MITRA 1981, pp. 20–21. Xuanrang reports in the early seventh century that Buddhism was the principal faith of the region, with some 100 monasteries and 10,000 monks, all following the Mahāyāna; *Xiyu ji*, p. 204.

<sup>133</sup> MITRA 1984, p. 225–232. On the phases of construction at Ratnagiri see BROWN 1978. On the successive phases of the Mantrāṅga manifest in the images that have survived at Ratnagiri and other Orissan sites see LINGOTHE 1999, pp. 53–57, 70, 108–111, 125–128, 168–169, 195–198, 251–255, 280–283, and 287–288.

<sup>134</sup> Notable are the nearby sites of the Mādhavapurāṇavihāra at Udayagiri and the Candradīptavihāra at Lalitagiri. On Udayagiri see BANDYOPADHYAYA 2007; and on Lalitagiri see CHAULEY 2000; and IAR 1985–6, pp. 62–63; 1986–87, pp. 64–67; 1987–88, pp. 68–90; 1988–89, pp. 65–66; 1989–90, pp. 77–80; 1990–91, pp. 54–55.

<sup>135</sup> *Samvarodaya* f. 56v3–4: *śrīmadratnagiriśaṅkhātā sarvasattvārhatetūṇā* | *śrīsamvarodaya nāma maṇḍalopāyikā* \*samāptā (corr.: samāptā Cod.) || \* || samvat a cū \*praghapadākṛṇṇacaturthyaṁ (praghapada conj.: prapada Cod.) rājādhirājapāramīśvaraparānābhāttarakṣatraladera + + vijayarāj-cye likhitam | *śrīmānadevanahā* \*vīhāryasākyabhihīṣadhuśrīdevasya (vīhārya conj.: vīhāre Cod.) pustakam \* < | yad atra puṇyam tad bhavatu > (diag. conj.) mātāpitṛgurupādhyāyasaḥasattvarāse < > anuttara-gīḍāna-phala-prāptaya iti (conj.: prāptaya Cod.).

<sup>136</sup> SHANTRI 1917, pp. 79–80 (ASB MS 10766). The manuscript is dated by the scribe in year 39 of the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Harivarman, on whom see MAJUMDAR 1971, pp. 209–210. Colophon: *nahārājādhirājāśrīmat-harivarmadevapādītyasari-cat 39* | *śrīgatyā dīghadine 39*. The postscript: *saṁcatāraṇīyatāṭeṭe tatsare harivarmāṇī* | *māghasya kṛṇṇasaptamyaṇe* | *chāḍaladine gate* | *marṇyā cutāḍalukā-sū gaurya saṁpennā drīṣṭya* | *kanīṣṭhāṅgulim āḍya* \*prajayadam (corr.: prajāyadam SHANTRI) | *udritam* | *pāreṭṭare dīṣṭhāge* | *bhagavadīyās tathā kule* | *ipacā-tamī bhāṣṭavateḥ* | *saptanarṇatatsarai iti*.

<sup>137</sup> OROFINO 1994, pp. 17–23; *Blue Annals*, p. 755.

<sup>138</sup> *Blue Annals*, p. 755.

<sup>139</sup> *EI* 37-51, ll. 25–26.

<sup>140</sup> *EI* 12-18, l. 6; *EI* 28-9, l. 8; and MAJUMDAR 1971, p. 201.

<sup>141</sup> *EI* 38-35, no. 1, ll. 35–36; no. 2, ll. 6–7; no. 3, ll. 33–34. As for Pūrṇacandra (r. c. 850–875), there is no explicit evidence of his religious persuasion. MAJUMDAR (1971, p. 201) argues that since it is said in the Rāmpāl copper-plate that Suvarṇacandra, his son, "became a follower of the Buddha" (*EI* 12-18, ll. 5–7) it is probable that before him the family was non-Buddhist. This is not accurate, since the text says not that he became a Buddhist but only that he was one: *buddhasya yā śaśaka-jātakam ankasamsthāṁ bhaktā bibharti* || *bhagavān amṛtākārmaṣu* | *candrasya tasya kulajāta itiva baudhah* | *putrah śruto jagati tasya suvarṇacandrah* 'His son was Suvarṇacandra, famed in the world, a Buddhist as though [simply] because he was born in the lineage of the Moon (the Candra lineage), which out of devotion to the Buddha displays his incarnation as a hare in its markings'. The allusion here is to the story exemplifying the Buddhist Perfection of Generosity (*dānapāramitā*) that the Buddha gave away his own body as food when he was a hare in a former life, the *śaśajātakam*. The immediately preceding verse, which is devoted to Pūrṇacandra, says nothing substantive about him but only that his name is found as that of the first of the kings of this dynasty in Prasasti and other inscriptions.



the early years of the eighth century. Though the inscriptions do not include the epithet *paramasaugataḥ* they do speak of these rulers in equivalent terms. The first, Khadgodayama, is described in an inscription of his great-grandson Rājārāja as having conquered the earth after declaring his intense devotion to the Three Jewels: the Buddha, his teachings, and the Saṅgha.<sup>142</sup> The same inscription tells us that Rājārāja gave land to these three;<sup>143</sup> and another that Devakhaḍga, the father of Rājārāja, made a donation to the same for the longevity of his son.<sup>144</sup> We have no evidence of any support given to Śaivism by these kings themselves. But a pedestal inscription on an image of the Śaiva Goddess records that it was gilded out of devotion by Prabhāvatī, Devakhaḍga's queen.<sup>145</sup>

*The Candras of Arakan and Miscellaneous Other Buddhist Kings of Eastern India*

That there were Buddhists among the Candras of Arakan is evident from the Mrohaung pillar inscription of Ānandacandra, which has been dated around the end of the third decade of the eighth century.<sup>146</sup> This gives a list of the names and reign-durations of the kings who preceded him from c. 380 onwards with an interruption of unspecified length. After this interruption come the rulers of the Candra dynasty down to Ānandacandra himself, spanning in this second

sequence a total of three hundred and fifty years. For most of his ancestors we are given no information other than their names and the lengths of their reigns, but the record is more forthcoming as it approaches the time of Ānandacandra himself. Vajrasākti (r. c. 649–665) is said to have died and gone to the world of the gods endowed with [the Buddhist perfections (*pāramitāḥ*) of] generosity, morality and the rest, and his successor Dharmavijaya (665–701) is said to have gone to the same, this time defined as the Buddhist Tuṣita heaven, as a result of his firm commitment to the Three Jewels.<sup>147</sup> Two short inscriptions from Vesālī of the time of his ancestors Nīticandra (r. c. 520–575) and Viracandra (r. c. 575–578) tell us that the wife of the former, queen Sāvītā-Candraśrī, was a lay Buddhist (*paramopāsikā*) and that the latter established a hundred Stūpas.<sup>148</sup> As for Ānandacandra, he calls himself a lay Buddhist and devotes nine verses to detailing his works of Buddhist piety, which included building many monasteries with his own name, establishing precious images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and such [Mahāyānist] goddesses as Cundā, having hundreds of Buddhist scriptures copied, and giving to many monks from various lands, which is to say, that he fulfilled to the best of his ability his duty to honour each of the Three Jewels.<sup>149</sup>

Yet even this devoted patron of his faith did not neglect to extend his support to the followers of other religions in his realm. He tells us that although he is a Buddhist he desires the good of all beings, lest his cultivation of the Buddhist Perfection of Generosity (*dānapāramitā*) be incomplete, and so has established four Maṭhas for the housing of fifty brahmins, providing them with land and workers, and two others, the Ānandavaramaṭha and the Ānandamādhavamaṭha, whose names reveal that they were associated with a Śiva and a Viṣṇu established with his name.<sup>150</sup> Moreover, a fragmentary copper-plate inscription (EI 37:13) from a

<sup>142</sup> Ashrafpur plate B (LASKAR 1907), ll. 2–4: *trailokyakhyātakirtiau bhagavati sugate sarvalok(e) + + + taddharme śāntarūpe bhavavibhavabhidāy yuginām yoga\*gamye* (corr.: *gamya* Ed.) | *tatsaṅghe cāprameye viividhagunānidhau bhaktim āvedya gururūp śrīmatkhaḍgodayamaṇa kṣitir iyaṁ abhito nirjīta yena* 'Khaḍgodayama, who conquered this earth in all directions after declaring his intense devotion to the Lord Buddha, whose glory has been declared throughout the three worlds, among all men ... to his tranquil teachings that can be realized by Yogins who [thereby] break the power of [transmigratory] existence, and to his numberless Saṅgha, the repository of manifold virtues'.

<sup>143</sup> Ashrafpur plate B (LASKAR 1907), ll. 6–7: *tatsuto rājārājāḥ dattaṁ ratna-trayaṁ tribhavabhaya\*bhide* (conj.: *bhida* Ed.) *yena dānaṁ suabhūmeḥ* 'His [Devakhaḍga's] son, who made a gift of his land to the Three Jewels that eliminate the fear of the three worlds'. To give to the Three Jewels is, I surmise, to make a grant to be divided between the Buddha for the building or maintenance of Buddhist shrines (*gandhakūṭi*) and Stūpas, the Dharma for the copying and teaching of sacred texts, and to the Saṅgha for its sustenance and comfort.

<sup>144</sup> Ashrafpur plate A (LASKAR 1907).

<sup>145</sup> EI 17:24A, ll. 1–2: *tadātmaḥ dānapatiḥ pratāpī śrīdevakhaḍgo vijītarīkhaḍgaḥ* | *rājāṇaḥ tasya mahādevī mahiṣī śrīprabhāvatī* | *śarvāṇipratimāṁ bhaktiā hemalīptam akārayat* 'His son was the majestic donor (dānapatiḥ) Devakhaḍga, whose sword had defeated his enemies. The chief consort of that king, Mahādevī Prabhāvatī, had [this] image of Śarvāṇī gilded'. The word *dānapatiḥ* is the standard Buddhist term for one who gives to monks, the Dharma, or the Buddha. The image (HUNTINGTON 1984, fig. 26) was found in the village of Deulbiḍī, near Comilla, together with a Śūrya and small Liṅgas, all of brass.

<sup>146</sup> D.C. SIRCAR in EI 32:11, p. 1071–108.

<sup>147</sup> Inscription of the western face of the pillar at Ilc Shittaung Pagoda, Mrohaung, Arakan (JOHNSTON 1944A), vv. 37c–40: *vajrasāktia ita-cha* | *khlyāto rājā deva-nayodbhavaḥ* || *pratipāya jagat sarvaṁ rājāṇaṁ ṣoḍaśasatsaram* | *dānāśīlādi-sanyukto deva-lokaṁ sa yātavan* || *śrīdharmajayaṇasanyukto lokānugraha-ta-peraḥ* | *tatpācād abhavat dhīraḥ śrīdharmavijayo nṛpaḥ* || *ṣaṭtriṁśad abdhāny upabhūya rājāṇaṁ dharmeṇa nityā ca jayena caiva* | *ratnatrayānusmarāṇābhi-yogāt sa deva-lokaṁ tuṣitaṁ prayātāḥ*.

<sup>148</sup> EI 32:11, no. 1, ll. 3–4: *devisāvitāṁ-candraśrīyā nāma paremopāsikasasya*; EI 32:11, no. 2, ll. 1, 3–4: *satyadharmānārāgena kṛtāṁ svartheṇa bhūbhūjā ... śrīvirā-candradeveṇa mahimāṇḍalamāṇḍanaṁ* | *dharmamādhigatārājyeṇa buddhastūpa-satāṁ kṛtāṁ*.

<sup>149</sup> JOHNSTON 1944A, vv. 46–54.

<sup>150</sup> JOHNSTON 1944A, vv. 55–56: *pañcāśadbrāhmaṇāvacāṣaṁ kṣetrabhrtyasamanvitam* | *vādyavādākasanyuktaṁ kārītaṁ maṭhacatuṣṭayam* || *sonatirhadvijācāse maṭhaś cānandamādhavaḥ* | *ānandasevānāpī naulakk(e) ca maṭha-cha* | *smṛtaḥ*. The practice of establishing a Viṣṇu with the founder's name followed by -mādhava (as an alternative to the standard -svāmī) is in accordance with textual prescription; see Somaśambhu, BRUNNER 1998, p. 311 (v. 48), = *Kriyākāṇḍakarmavālī*,



site near Mrohaung recording a donation by queen Kimmajuvdevi of a village to a Buddhist monastery founded by herself begins by relating six generations of the descendants of her husband the king. Unfortunately the names of this king and his ancestors have been lost through the scissoring off of strips from the top and right hand side of the plate. However, what remains conveys the unexpected information that all these kings were *paramamaheshvarah*. The editor of the inscription assigns it to the sixth century on the grounds of its close palaeographic similarity to the grants of Niticandra and Viracandra, and argues that if the first of the six kings was, as is likely, Dvencandra, the founder of the Candra dynasty, then the king in question was Niticandra's father Bhuticandra (r. c. 496-520).<sup>151</sup> Viracandra, he argues, is excluded by the fact that one of the two Vesali inscriptions records his patronage of Buddhism. However, that a king should give to Buddhism and at the same time be declared a *paramamaheshvarah* in documents issued by the royal chancery is quite within the bounds of possibility, as we have seen.

Other royals of eastern India who are identified as *paramasaugatah* in our period—apart from the imperial Palas, to whom I shall turn presently—are Bhavadeva of Devaparvata in Samatata (r. c. 765-780), the founder of the Buddhist monastery Bhavadamahavihara at Pattikera, modern Mainamati, Rajyapala of the Kamboja dynasty of Priyagupura in the tenth, Madhusena, the Sena king of Gauda, in the thirteenth, and, in Orissa, Udayavaraha of the Mayuravamsa at some time in the tenth to twelfth, the Nandodbhava Dhruvananda of Jayapura, the successor of the *paramamaheshvarah* Devananda II, in the late tenth, and Kantideva of Harikela in the ninth.<sup>152</sup> The inscription that tells us that the last was *paramasaugatah* also conveys that Buddhism was the faith of his grandfather Bhadradatta. After a benedictory verse in praise of the Buddha it begins the eulogy of the donor's forebears with this king, saying that his devotion to the Buddha had intensified his power and that he had [thereby] conquered all his enemies. His son Dhanadatta, the donor's father, is

II 72v7-73r1: *svamyantary mādhanāntaryā vā kartvīmānā ca samyutam* | dhāreya nāma devasya tishṇoḥ sthāpanam iritām 'He should bestow a name on the deity conjoined with the name of the patron and ending in -svāmin or -mādhanā. I have [thus] explained the installation of Viṣṇu'.

<sup>151</sup> D.C. Sircar, *Ep 37-13*, p. 64.

<sup>152</sup> Sircar 1963a, Supplement 3, II 42-43 (Bhavadeva); MITRA 1971, p. 245 (Bhavadevamahavihara). *Ep 41-22*, II 19-20 (Rajyapala); the final colophon of ASB, MS 40785 dated in 1289, see SHASTRI 1917, p. 117 (Madhusena). SHASTRI 1920, p. 243, II 2-3, 6 (Udayavaraha). TRIPATHY 1930, p. 466, I 24 (Dhruvananda). *Ep 29-26*, II 25-26 (Devananda). *Ep 26-45*, I 14 (Kantideva). The exact location of Harikela is uncertain, but it may be placed with some confidence in the area of Chhattaṅga, that is to say, near Samatata in the direction of Arakan.

praised only for his learning in poetry, the Epics, and the Purāṇas. Mention is made not of his religion but of that of his wife Bindurati, who is said to have been a devotee of Śiva.<sup>153</sup>

### The Pala Emperors and the Great Monasteries of Eastern India

With the Pala emperors we come to what appears to be the most robustly Buddhist of all the dynasties of our period. Like the Candras of southeast Bengal they chose the wheel of the Buddha's teaching (*dharmacakram*) as the seal-symbol on their charters; they began their inscriptions with obsequiousness to the Buddha; and the following among them appear with the epithet *paramasaugatah* in the lacunose record of inscriptions and manuscript colophons: Dharmapala (r. c. 775-812), Devapala (r. c. 812-850), Mahendrapala (850-865+), Narayana-pala (r. c. 865-917), Vigrahapala II (r. c. 972-977), Mahipala I (r. c. 977-1027), Nayapala (r. c. 1027-1043), Vigrahapala III (r. c. 1043-1070), Ramapala (r. c. 1072-1126), and Madanapala (r. c. 1143-1161).<sup>154</sup>

Under these rulers eastern India witnessed an extraordinary development

<sup>153</sup> *Ep 26-45*, II 3-: ...jayaty udaro durcaramaravisarasya jayī jinendraḥ || tad-bhaktibalitesaktir bhujadayauryitayavijitaripudarpah | sa jayati dharmakaratah khyatah sribhadraddatto yaḥ || tasya subhāsitabhāratapurāṇamāyanaṣṭāvarit tanayah | nāma śrīdhanadattah prakṛtītamahimānveyo yo 'bhūt || tasya gauri mahābhūbhṛtsutā budhagurustutā | patni bindurati nāma yā babhūva śivapriyā 'Victorious is the foremost of the Jinās, the exalted one who conquered the multitude of Māras so hard to ward off. His power intensified by devotion to him, the pride of his enemies overcome by the strength of his two arms, solely devoted to the Dharma, victorious is the famous Bhadradatta. His son was Dhanadatta. He understood the meaning of elegant poetry, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, and the Rāmāyaṇa, and his uninterrupted greatness was made manifest [to all]. His wife was Bindurati, the fair-skinned daughter of a great king, praised by the learned and her elders, a devotee of Śiva'.

<sup>154</sup> Dharmapala: *Ep 4-34*, II 29-30; *Ep 17-17*, II 24-25; *Ep 18-30*, I 28. Devapala: *Ep 17-17*, II 24-25; *Ep 18-30*, I 29. Mahendrapala: *Ep 42-2*, II 30-31. Narayana-pala: SIRCAR 1983a: 17, II 28-29. Vigrahapala II: *Ep 29-1A*, II 27-28. Mahipala I: *Ep 14-23*, II 29-30; *Ep 29-1*, I 27; a pedestal inscription (HUNTINGTON 1984, pp. 221-222). Nayapala: colophon of a MS transcribed in BENDALL 1883, p. 175. Vigrahapala III: *Ep 15-18*, I 23; *Ep 29-1B*, II 26-27; *Ep 29-7*, II 24-25; MS colophon transcribed in BENDALL 1902, pp. 232-233 (because the date of copying is said here to be the 26th year of the reign of Vigrahapala this can only refer to Vigrahapala III). Ramapala: REGM 1965-1966, Pt. 1, p. 148 (MS colophon); colophon of *Kalyāṇakāṇṭha*, NAK MS 1-1633, NGMPP B25/22 (transcribed in GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1988, p. 6); a pedestal inscription (HUNTINGTON 1984, pp. 233-234). Madanapala: MUKHERJI and MAITY 1967/30, II 31-32. The dates of the reigns given here are those proposed by D.C. Sircar (1975-1976), with the addition of those of Mahendrapala. The existence of a Pala Mahendrapala, son and successor of Devapala, was established only with the publication of the Maldā District Museum copper-plate charter of that king in 1992 (*Ep 42-2*) by K.V. RAMESH and S. SUTRAMONIA IYER, following its discovery in 1989.



<sup>155</sup> The Derge edition of the *Tripiṭaka* contains 486 works (Tōh. 360-845) in the section of the Kanjur devoted to scriptural Tantric works and 2606 (Tōh. 1180-3785) in the section of the Tenjur devoted to works of Tantric scholarship, comprising commentaries on the Buddhist Tantras and works setting out observances (*Sādhana*, *Bali*, *Pratiṣṭhā* etc.) based on them. All claim to be translations of Sanskrit originals and this claim is true in the great majority of cases. In addition there are numerous works surviving whole or in citation in Sanskrit that appear not to have been translated into Tibetan; and some of these, such as the *Gūḍhapadā* of Advayaṃvra, the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* of Padmasūritra, the *Vajrajalodaya* of Ānandagarbha, the *Vajravārāhikaṭpa*, the *Sarvadevasamāgama*, and the *Herukasādhana* of Kālyāṇagarbha, have been used in this study.

the whole of Burdwan District, and Dakṣiṇārāḍhā, covering Bankura District and the non-coastal part of Midnapur District.

<sup>157</sup> In the eulogy of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the learned minister of Harivarman (c. 1090+), in a stone inscription from Bhubaneswar, Bhavadeva's mother Sangokā is said to be the daughter of a Vandyaghatīya brahmin (EI 6:17B, c. 13). Other Vandyaghatīyas are the Sarvānanda who in 1159 wrote a commentary *Tikṣaravsa* on the *Liṅgasaṁśāsa* of Amarasiṅha, the great 16th-century Dharmasāstrin Raghunandana, author of the *Smṛtitattva* (PINGREE 1994, p. 341), Nārāyaṇa (fl. c. 1681), author of the *Smṛtisarvasa* or *Smṛtitattva* (PINGREE 1994, p. 181), and Dvijā Lakṣmaṇa, who translated the *Ādikāṇḍa* of the *Adhyatmasaṁhāya* into Bengali.

<sup>158</sup> *Riya gar chos 'byung*, pp. 215. l. 22–24. l.10: HIB, p. 350.



to be more reliable in their account of what for them was recent history.<sup>159</sup> The *Rgya gar chos 'byung* therefore deserves close attention.

Tāranātha attributes to Dharmapāla the building of the monastery of Vikramaśīla and to Devapāla the building of the monasteries of Somapura and Trikaṭuka.<sup>160</sup> In this, however, he or his sources are confused. The claim that the monastery at Somapura was founded by Devapāla is contradicted by a terracotta seal found at the site bearing the legend *śrīsomapure śrīdharmapāladeva-mahāvīhāre* 'in the Mahāvīhāra of Dharmapāla at Somapura'.<sup>161</sup> thereby indicating that it was founded not by Devapāla but by his father Dharmapāla. Evidence also contradicts Tāranātha's claim that it was Devapāla that built the Trikaṭuka monastery. For Haribhadra reports at the end of his *Abhisamayā-lankārāloka*, his great commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, that he composed it in this monastery during the reign of Dharmapāla and under his patronage.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>159</sup> After his account of the Tantric Ācāryas who held office successively at Vikramaśīla Tāranātha offers brief treatments of various topics not covered by these sources. Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia and in maritime Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka and the South is covered in ch. 39 and 40 respectively. On these topics, he says, he has seen no comprehensive work. Ch. 41 treats the spread of Buddhism in the Deccan following another lost work, the *Flower-Garland*, by a brahmin Manomati, which, he says, contained a brief account of this subject. Ch. 42 covers the divisions of the main Nikāyas, evidently on the basis of such Indian treatments of the topic as the *Samayabhedoparacanakakra* of Vinītadeva; ch. 43 examines what he rightly considers to be the muddled theories of the origin of the Mantrānyāya; and ch. 44 gives some notes on the various Indian schools of image-makers. This is followed by the account of his use of his sources. He notes that he has no written sources for the later events in his account that were not covered in these works. For these events he has relied on what he judged to be trustworthy oral reports.

<sup>160</sup> See *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 160, ll. 9-10 (Somapuravihāra); p. 161, l. 11 (*dpal tsha ba gsum gtang lag khang*) [Trikaṭukavihāra]; cf. p. 167, ll. 7-8: *tri ka 'tu* [corr.: *ta Ed.*] *ka tsha ba gsum kyi gtang lag khang*; p. 165, l. 17 (Vikramaśīlavihāra); HBI, p. 266, p. 267, pp. 274-275.

<sup>161</sup> *ARE* 1927-28, pp. 105-106; DIKSHIT 1938, pp. 20 and 90, and plate LIX; N.G. MAJUMDAR in *IE* 21:16, p. 98.

<sup>162</sup> *Abhisamayā-lankārāloka*, p. 994, vv. 6-7: *kyāto yo bhūvi pañcābhīratimāyo tīdā-janālayakṛtas tasmā sarvagunāhara trikaṭukāśrīmadīhāre tubhe | dānā lābha-mahodayasya karuṇādevasya dharmātmanah sārāthyaena sukhopadāhanānīlaye sthūte virekṣyate | kṛdhyatkarjārukumbhapīṭhādalanarāyāsaktasaktyātmanah pañcābhīratimāyogajavāśāt saṃpatsamādāyinaḥ | rājye rājyabhaṭādeva-sa-pattitātridharmapālasya vai tattalokavīdhāyini virecitā saṃpāṭhikayam mayā* 'I have composed this excellent commentary that illuminates reality after taking up residence in the splendid Trikaṭukavihāra that is famed throughout the world, the site of a mass of sacred edifices, adorned by learned men, a store of all the virtues, where [all] the means of happiness are to be found, a place of insight, through the support of the compassionate king Dharmapāla, who by means of donation has achieved pre-eminence; and I have done so during the reign of this king, who born in the dynasty that descends from Rājyabhaṭa, full of power devoted to the rendering

In the case of the Somapura monastery it has been argued that we may salvage Tāranātha's credibility by concluding that Devapāla did found this monastery, as Tāranātha claims, and that he gave it his father's name rather than his own out of filial piety.<sup>163</sup> This is indeed a practice of which there are other examples, its purpose being to transfer to the person named the religious merit generated by the creation and use of the foundation; but it is much more probable that Tāranātha is in error here, as he clearly is in the case of the Trikaṭuka monastery. For his history commits the fundamental error of reversing the true sequence of the two reigns, placing that of Devapāla before that of Dharmapāla.<sup>164</sup> His attribution of the founding of Somapura and Trikaṭuka to Devapāla rather than Dharmapāla can, then, readily be explained as the result of this reversal. We may therefore suspect that his attribution of the founding of Vikramaśīla to Dharmapāla suffers from the same dislocation and that its true founder was his son Devapāla. That this suspicion is correct is confirmed by the *Ādikarmapradīpa* of Anupamavajra. For in its conclusion he tells us that he compiled the work following the instruction of Dharmākara, a monk whom he describes as "residing in the monastery called Vikrama constructed by king Devapāla".<sup>165</sup> Vikrama here is evidently a *bhīmat* contraction for Vikramaśīla.<sup>166</sup> However, we may not conclude that everything that Tāranātha attributes to Dharmapāla was Devapāla's doing, and vice versa. He reports, for

of the swollen globes on the foreheads of the furious elephants [of his enemies], has attained his glorious success by virtue of the dedication produced by his repeated pious works'. For the use of *sthitā* here cf. the final verse of the *Samvarodaya nāma maṇḍalopāyika* of Bhūvācārya cited here, p. 62.

<sup>163</sup> N.G. MAJUMDAR in *IE* 21:16, p. 98, fn. 5.

<sup>164</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, chapters 29 (Devapāla) and 30 (Dharmapāla). Tāranātha gives the order Gopāla > Devapāla > Rāsapāla > Dharmapāla; see *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, pp. 163-164: *rgyal po de wa pa las lo bshi bcu bryad du rgyal srid byas | de'i rjes su sras rā sa pa la rgyal srid lo bcu gsum byas* 'King Devapāla ruled for forty-eight years. After him his son Rāsapāla ruled for twelve'. No Rāsapāla appears in the accounts of the dynasty given in the Palas' inscriptions. The name is perhaps a deformation of Rājyapāla (r.c. 917-952), the successor of Nārāyaṇapāla.

<sup>165</sup> *Ādikarmapradīpa*, ed. Takahashi, p. 153: *tīhāre* (T [metri causa] : *vihāre* P, Ed.) \**nṛpa devapālaracite* (T, Ed.) : *ndapadevaracita* P) \**śrīvikramākhye* (T, Ed.) : *śrīvikramākṣa* P) *sthitā* *śrīmatasauṅgasāsanakātilakā* *kyāto* *dharmā* (T, Ed.) *dharmākera* \**śantādhis* (P : *śanmatih* T, Ed.) \**śāyāśādhakara* *śamasty anupamā* (T, Ed.) : \**śāyāśādhakara* *bābhūca* *nupamas* P) *tenādhikarmoddhātā* [This text on the initial observance has been extracted (from various sources) by Anupama, acting on the instruction of Dharmākara, that renowned, unequalled scholar, richly endowed with morality, of tranquil mind, a life-long observer of celibacy, a resident of the Vikrama monastery constructed by King Devapāla].

<sup>166</sup> On Vikrama for Vikramaśīla see here p. 88.



example, Dharmapāla's particular reverence for Haribhadra,<sup>167</sup> a relationship that, as we have seen, Haribhadra himself attests. He also claims that Dharmapāla created about fifty religious foundations (*dharmādhikārah*), and that the majority, thirty-five, were for the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts.<sup>168</sup> It is at least probable that this bias was due to the influence of Haribhadra, given the latter's close relationship with Dharmapāla and the fact that he was the pre-eminent scholar of his age in the exegesis of this literature.

As for the monastery of Uddāṇḍapura, which was located near the more ancient monastery of Nālandā, Bu ston, in his history of Buddhism in India and Tibet, completed in 1322, attributes its foundation to Dharmapāla;<sup>169</sup> and the

<sup>167</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 167, ll. 7-9: *de nas mi ring bar rgyal po dha rma pa las sryan drangs ste | tri ka 'ju* (corr.: *ta* Ed.) *ka tsha ba gsum kyi gtsug lag khang du bzhugs nas | sher phyin nyan pa stong phrag nang po la chos ston cing | bryad stong 'grel chen la sogs pa bstan bcos kyang mang du mdzad* 'Not long after this [Haribhadra] was invited by King Dharmapāla. He stayed in the Trikaṭukavihāra and taught the *Prajñāpāramitā* to many thousands of hearers. He also composed [his] detailed commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and many other learned works'; *HBI*, p. 277.

<sup>168</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 165, ll. 14-17: *rgyal srid du 'khod ma thag nas shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'chad pa po rnam sryan drangs | slob dpon seng ge bzang po la khyad par du mos | rgyal po 'dis spyir chos gzhi lnga bcu tsam btsug pa las | sher phyin 'chad pa'i chos bzhi sum cu so lnga yod* 'As soon as [Dharmapāla] was reigning he invited teachers of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. He had particular faith in Ācārya Haribhadra. This king set up about fifty religious foundations (*dharmādhikārah*) and thirty-five of them were for the exegesis of the *Prajñāpāramitā*'; *HBI*, p. 274. For evidence that *chos gzhi* renders Sanskrit *dharmādhikārah* and that the latter means 'a religious foundation' rather than 'a centre for the Doctrine', as it is translated in *HBI*, p. 274 see here p. 104.

<sup>169</sup> OBERMÜLLER 1986, p. 156-157. For the proximity to Nālandā of the monastery of Uddāṇḍapura, which in Tibetan sources is known as Otantapurī, see *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 156, l. 19: *o ta ntu pu ri dang nye ba na nā le ndra zhes bya ba'i gtsug lag khang zhi bzhengs* 'He built the Nālandā monastery near Otantapurī'; *HBI*, p. 258. I use Uddāṇḍapura because this is what we find in a pedestal inscription found at Bihār Sharif in the Patna District (CHOUDHARY 1958, p. 65; HUNTINGTON 1984, p. 213, no. 19): *deyadharmmo jam śrīnārāyaṇapāladevarājye samvat 54 śrī-uddāṇḍapuravāstavyarāṇaka-uccapatratthārūkasya* 'This is the pious gift of Thārūka, son of Ucha, resident at the Great Monastery of Uddāṇḍapura, in year 54 of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāladeva'. Bihār Sharif is indeed near Nālandā. The form Uddāṇḍapura also occurs in an inscription of the reign of Śūrapāla recording the installation of a Buddha image in the monastery there by a monk Pūrpādāsa (CHOUDHARY 1958, p. 54). As for the Nālandāmahāvihāra, it long predates the Pālas. Faxian (d. before 423) describes the major Buddhist edifices in this area but is silent about Nālandā, which implies that if it existed it was certainly not an institution likely to have been home to the great names of the early Mahāyāna. The *Da Tang Da Cienshi sanzang fashi zhuan*, the biography of Xuanzang (ordained between 609 and 617; left for India in 627 or 629; studied at Nālandā; d. 664) written by his disciple Huili and later continued and edited by Yancong in 688, contains an account of the history of Nālandā (BEAL 1914, pp. 110-113), from which

probability that this report is accurate is increased by the fact that he, unlike Tāranātha, knew that Dharmapāla came before not after Devapāla. Tāranātha assigns it to Devapāla, probably in consequence of the aforesaid confusion, though he also reports a tradition that it was founded by Dharmapāla's father Gopāla, the first of the Pālas.<sup>170</sup>

Tāranātha reports that Dharmapāla adopted two persons as his preceptors: Haribhadra and his pupil Buddhajñāna. While the former was a master of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the latter was a renowned authority on the Tantric system taught in the *Guhyasamāja*.<sup>171</sup> We are told that he performed the rituals for the consecration of the Vikramaśīla monastery and was appointed as its Vajracārya. We also learn that, having seen omens of the future ruin of the dynasty under Dharmapāla's grandson, he persuaded the king to institute a regular fire-sacrifice (*homāh*) to be performed under his guidance by the Tantric officiants of this monastery with the purpose of ensuring that the dynasty would be long-lived and consequently that Buddhism would be widely disseminated. It was performed, we are told, for many years at huge expense.<sup>172</sup> Further evidence of

it appears that it began as a small Saṅghārāma donated by the fourth Gupta king, Kumāragupta Śākraditya, who reigned from 415 to 455. It then grew through the addition of further Vihāras until by Xuanzang's time it had become the foremost Buddhist structure in India, famed throughout Buddhist Asia as a centre of learning. See the analysis of the history of the Nālandāmahāvihāra on the basis of the Chinese sources in KUWAYAMA 1988, pp. 7-11. For a plan of Nālandā with its row of nine identical monasteries and several temples see MICHELL 1990, p. 246.

<sup>170</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 158, ll. 7-8: *rgyal po go pa la 'di 'am de wa pa la'i mtshams su dpal o ta ntu pūri'i gtsug lag khang bzhengs* 'The Otantapurī monastery was built in the period of this king Gopāla or that of Devapāla'; *HBI*, p. 262.

<sup>171</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 165, ll. 10-12: *seng bzang yes shes zabs bla mar bsten | shes byin dang | dpal gsang ba 'dus pas phyogs thams cad gang bar mdzad | gsang ba 'dus pa dang* 'He served Haribhadra and [Buddha]jñānapāda as his preceptors, and filled all the directions with the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Guhyasamāja*'; *HBI*, p. 274. See also *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 195, ll. 12-14: *bi kra ma shi lar sengags kyi rdo rje slob dpon chen po sangs rgyas ye shes zabs dang | der rjes mar me mdzad bzang pos bstan pa bshyangs* 'At Vikramaśīla [first] the Mantra-Vajracārya Mahāpāṇḍita Buddhajñānapāda and then Dipankarabhadra protected the teaching [of the Buddha]'; *HBI*, p. 325. This figure, known variously as Jānapāda (Ye shes zabs), Buddhajñāna (Sangs rgyas ye shes), and Buddhaśrījñāna (Sangs rgyas dpal ye shes), is a crucial figure in the history of the Mantranaya, being the source of the "Jānapāda" school of *Guhyasamāja* exegesis and practice that was introduced into Tibet by Rin chen bzang po. See *Blue Annals*, pp. 367-374 for an account of his life and works, and their transmission to and in Tibet. Notable among his writings are the *Samantabhadrasādhana* (Tōh. 1856) and his commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* (Tōh. 1852).

<sup>172</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 168, ll. 6-12: *rgyal po dha rma pa la la | khyod kyi tsha bo'i dus nas rgyal srid 'jig pa'i mtshan ma yod pas | shyin sreg gi cho ga chen po zhi byas na yun ring du srid zin cing | chos kyang dar bar 'gyur gsungs pas | des kyang dngul to la 'bum phrag dgu dang nyis stong gi yo byad phul bas | slob dpon*



Dharmapāla's commitment to Buddhism is found in the Nesarikā grant of the Rāstrakūṭa king Govinda III issued in 805, since that reveals that the ensign depicted on his war banner was the Buddhist goddess Tārā.<sup>173</sup>

As for Gopāla (r.c. 750–775), the father of Dharmapāla, whom all our sources make the first of the Palas, there is no evidence in the inscriptions that he too was a Buddhist, unless it be his having been referred to in inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla (r.c. 860–917) and Vīraṇapāla III (r.c. 1043–1070) as a second Buddha.<sup>174</sup> However, the *Rājatarāṅga* claims him for the faith, saying that after a dissolute youth he converted to Buddhism and constructed various monasteries, Caityas, and temples.<sup>175</sup> Tāranātha likewise claims that he served the cause of Buddhism by founding many monasteries, both in Bengal, which he ruled in the first part of his career, and Magadha, when he had added that great province to his kingdom through conquest.<sup>176</sup> He also recounts a legend accord-

ing to which Gopāla, when not yet king, found a jewel and used it as the fee for Tantric consecration from an Acārya. He then successfully propitiated the Buddhist goddess Cundā following his instructions,<sup>177</sup> went to the monastery of Khasarapaṇa Avalokiteśvara,<sup>178</sup> and successfully prayed to him for kingship, which the deity promised he would obtain if he moved east.

In his account of Buddhism under the successors of Gopāla, Dharmapāla, and Devapāla, Tāranātha gives us one more report of royal monastery building. But unfortunately his sources seem to have been so misinformed in their presentation of the order and identity of these subsequent kings that it is no easy task to discern the reign to which this building activity should be assigned. He tells us that Mahāpāla, whom he claims to have been the son and successor of Mahipāla, built the Uruvāsa monastery, described as a branch of the monastery at Uddanāpura, and founded Buddhist establishments at the monasteries of Nālandā, Somapura, and Trikaṭuka.<sup>179</sup> Tāranātha has his Mahipāla rule for

first part of his life he governed Vangāla. In the subsequent part he subjected Magadha. Near Uddanāpura he built a monastery called Nālandra. By establishing many divisions of the Saṅgha [in monasteries] in these two large regions he greatly honoured the religion [of the Buddha]; *HBI*, p. 258.

<sup>173</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 155, l. 14–156, l. 18; *HBI*, pp. 257–258. Cundā, though she appears not have been a major constituent of learned Tantric Buddhism, seems to have been popular in the region. Two bronze statues of this goddess have been found in Pāla territory, one from Kurkihār cast in the reign of Mahipāla I, and the other from Nālandā, assigned by HUNTINGTON on stylistic grounds to the ninth century (HUNTINGTON 1984, pp. 60–61, 226–227, and 144; figs. 61 and 169; wrongly giving the name as Cundā); and there was a temple of Cundā in Paṭṭikera (Maināmati) near Comilla, which is illustrated in a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (ULC MS Add. 1643, copied in 1015), as one of eighty-five illustrations of Buddhist sacred sites, most in eastern India, with the legend *paṭṭikere cundāra-bhūtaṇa cundā* (MITRA 1971, p. 244). There are images of Cundā from Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Achutrajpur in Orissa, Ellora in Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Nepal; see SHAH 2006, pp. 265–274; *IAR* 2001–02, Plate 114 (Udayagiri).

<sup>174</sup> In *HBI* (p. 257) it appears as "the temple of ārya 'Khasarapaṇa'. But the Tibetan states that it was a monastery: *'phags kha sa rpa pa'i gtsug lag khang* (*Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 155, ll. 20–21). A Khasarapaṇa located in Rādā is mentioned in the *Zhib mo rdo rje* of Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po (c. 1198–1259) as very famous in the time of 'Breg mi, who died c. 1064 (*Blue Annals*, p. 72); see *Zhib mo rdo rje*, p. 86, §4: *rgyar gar shar phyogs ra da na 'phags pa spyan ras gzi gs dang phyug 'khar sa pa ni bzhiags pa de grags pa che pas*.... Perhaps this was the site of the monastery referred to here.

<sup>175</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 175, l. 2–7: *o ta nta pu ri'i gtsug lag khang du nyan thos kyi dge 'dan rnam gtsa bor mehod ring | dge slong lnga brgya dang chos ston pa lnga bu la 'tsho bo shyar | de yi lan yag tu u ru ba sa zhes bya ba'i gtsug lag khang bzhegs | der yang nyan thos pa se ndha pa lnga brgya re la 'tsho ba shyar | bi kha ma shi lar sugar gyi srol de ka gzung ste | mehod 'os kyi mthil du mdzad | dpa'i nā la ndār yang chos gchi 'ga' re btsags | so ma pu ri dang | nā le ndra dang | tsha ba gsum kyi gtsug lag khang la sogs par yang chos gchi mang po btsugs* [Mahāpāla] honoured principally the community of Śrāvakas in the Uddanāpuravihāra and [there] pro-

*gto bor gyar pa'i rdo rje 'dzin pa rnam khyis lo nang por shyin sreg mdzad* 'He told King Dharmapāla: "There are signs that from the time of your grandson onwards the kingdom will be endangered. If you perform a great ritual of fire-sacrifice you will ensure that the reign [of your line] will endure for many years and also that the Dharma will be disseminated". And so [the king] had the fire-sacrifice done for many years by Vajradharas led by the Acārya [Buddhahānāpāda], offering substances worth 902,000 tolas of silver; *HBI*, p. 278. The ritual was evidently a *sāntihomah*, a sacrifice for the averting of disaster. Such rituals are generic but they are made to serve the specific purposes of the patron by writing these into the formula of intention (*samkalpa*) that must be recited at the opening of any such ritual; see SANDERSON 2005a, p. 357–358 and fn. 22 in a discussion of the Tantric Saiva ritual commissioned by the Khmer ruler Jayavarman II (r. 802–c. 835) "in order that this land of Kambuja [Kambujadeśa] should not continue to be a dependency of Javā and so that only one king should be universal ruler [in this region]" (K. 205, Khmer, C II. 71–75: *vruh pāda paramēśvara aṣṭen thue vidhi leha leha kampi kamvajadeśa neh āyatta ta javā ley len ār ti kamraten phdai karom mway guh ta jā cakravartiti*).

<sup>176</sup> *ET* 34:19, ll. 35–38, at the end of an enumeration of the ensigns (*īrājāhānā*) seized by Govinda III from his enemies, beginning with those of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava kings: *pāṇḍyadeśādhipān matayān vṛkṣaṁ pallavararāt | ... tārābhagavātim* (em. ti Ep.) *khyātām dharmā bhāṣābhūmipāt || itiham etāny athānyāni cihṇāny ādaya bhūbhujām | garuḍāṅkam jagatungo vyadhātā sakalam jagat* 'Thus by seizing these and other royal ensigns—the fish from the king of Pāṇḍyadeśa, the bull from the Pallava king... and the famous Tārā from Dharmapāla, the king of Bengal—[Govinda III] Jagatungo placed the whole earth under [the sway of] his Garuḍa'.

<sup>177</sup> The Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla (HULTZSCH 1886), ll. 4–5 and the Bangaon plate of Vīraṇapāla III (CHOUHARY 1958, p. 83), ll. 3–4: *sa śrīmān lokanātha jayati dāśabala'nyas ca gopāladevah*.

<sup>178</sup> *Matuṅgavyūlkalpa* 53.628–631.

<sup>179</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 156, l. 18–21: *shu che'i stod la bhām ga la la dhang bgyar | smad la ma ga dha yang dhang du bonags te | o ta nta pu ri dang nye ba na le ndra zhes kya ba'i gtsug lag khang zhiḡ bzhegs | yal chen po de gyas sa dge dan gyi sde nang du btsugs te betan pa la mehod pa rgya chen po mdzad do* 'In the



fifty-two years and says that he died at about the same time as the Tibetan king Khri ral,<sup>180</sup> that is to say, Khri gtsug lde brtsan also called Ral pa can, who ruled from about 815 to 836; and his son Mahāpāla is assigned a reign of 41 years,<sup>181</sup> that is to say, up to about 900. Now, there are two Mahāpālas known to us from the epigraphical record, both of whom were much later, the first ruling c. 977–1027 and the second c. 1070–1071; but there is no Mahāpāla. The similarity with the name of his father raises the suspicion that one king Mahāpāla, no doubt Mahāpāla I, the length of his reign agreeing closely with that attributed to Mahāpāla by Tāranātha, has become Mahāpāla and Mahāpāla, and that the resulting two reigns, amounting implausibly to ninety-three years, served to bridge a gulf of ignorance of the period between the great founders of the Pāla empire and Mahāpāla I, who restored the fortunes of the Pālas after a period during which, following Devapāla, they had lapsed into insignificance, losing control of Bengal and retreating into a core territory in Bihar around modern Patna.<sup>182</sup> It is probable, then, that Tāranātha's attribution to Mahāpāla of the expansion of Uddāṇpura and the founding of Buddhist establishments at Nālandā, Sompura, and Trikaṭuka is a distortion of a record of the pious works of Mahāpāla I. The supposition is somewhat strengthened by the fact that Tāranātha says that the *Kālacakra* tantra was introduced during the latter half of Mahāpāla's life and that it spread during the reign of Mahāpāla.<sup>183</sup> For it was during the reign of Mahāpāla I that this new Tantric system emerged.<sup>184</sup>

vided for five hundred monks and fifty teachers of the Dharma. As a branch of this he built a monastery called Uruvāsa. In this too he provided for five hundred Śaivahava Śrāvakas. He accepted that the pre-existing system at Vikramāṣīla should remain unchanged; but he made [Uruvāsa] the object of his greatest veneration. He also established several religious foundations at Nālandā, and many others also in Sompura, Nālandra, and the Trikaṭukavihāra; *HBI*, p. 289.

<sup>180</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 172, ll. 1–3: *de nas rgyal po ba na pa la'i sras ma hi pa la zhes pa byung | rgyal srid lo nga bcu nga gnyis mdzad | rags rtis su byas na rgyal po 'di 'das tsaṃ na | bod na btsan po khri ral yang sku 'das pa tsaṃ gyi dus yin no* 'Next, the son of Vanapāla, called Mahāpāla, ruled for fifty-two years. By a rough calculation this king died at the same time as King Khri ral in Tibet'; *HBI*, p. 284.

<sup>181</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 175, l. 1: *de 'i sras ni rgyal po ma hā pa la ste | 'dis rgyal srid lo bzhi bcu zhe gcig mdzad* 'His son was King Mahāpāla. He ruled for forty-one years'; *HBI*, p. 289.

<sup>182</sup> See SMITH 1962, pp. 412–418; and KULKE in KULKE and ROTHERMUND 1992, p. 118.

<sup>183</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 175, ll. 7–9: *rgyal po ma hi pa la'i sku tshes'i smad tsaṃ na | pi lo 'i tsā rvas dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud spyān drongs te | rgyal po 'di'i dus su dar bar mdzad* The Acārya Piṭo introduced the *Kālacakra* tantra in the second half of the life of King Mahāpāla and disseminated it during the time of this king [Mahāpāla]; *HBI*, pp. 289–290. This Piṭo is no doubt the person elsewhere called Piṇḍo (Bsod nyoms); see *Blue Annals*, p. 756–757, 789; OROFINO 1994, p. 23.

<sup>184</sup> NEWMAN 1987 and 1998; OROFINO 1994, p. 23.

After Mahāpāla the monastic universities already established continued to flourish, but Pāla fortunes once again went into decline, and it is therefore not surprising that Tāranātha has no major royal benefactions to report during this period. However, during the long reign of Rāmapāla (r. c. 1072–1126), the last major ruler of this dynasty, the kingdom recovered, and we might expect this to be reflected in a renewal of material patronage. It is tempting therefore to accept the claim made by Hara Prasad SHASTRI in 1910<sup>185</sup> and repeated by many since that time<sup>186</sup> that the Jagaddalamahāvihāra,<sup>187</sup> the one great monastery in the Pāla domains whose founder has not yet been identified, was the creation of this monarch. But there is no evidence that supports this claim.<sup>188</sup>

Nor is there any that refutes it. In the introduction to the edition of the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* published by KOSAMBI and GOKHALE the former has asserted on the strength of evidence provided by the latter that Rāmapāla's coronation took place in this monastery,<sup>189</sup> in which case, of course, it could not have been founded by him during his reign. But that too cannot be accepted. The evidence cited is GOKHALE's rendering of the colophonic verse at the end of the *\*Bhagavatāmnyāyānūsārīṇi vyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* which survives in Tibetan translation (Tōh. 3811).<sup>190</sup> 'This *vyākhyā* was composed by Rāja-jagaddala-nivāsī [which thus becomes the writer's name] at the Jagaddala vihāra, which was the place of Rāmapāla's coronation'.<sup>191</sup> But this rendering is wildly inaccurate. The meaning of the Tibetan is: 'I, a resident of the venerable Rājajagaddala [monastery], have composed this commentary, a string of pearls (*muktāvalī*) [to be an adornment] of the land protected by King Rāmapāla'.<sup>192</sup> This does at least convey the

<sup>185</sup> *Rāmācarita* of Sandhyākaranandin, introduction, p. 9.

<sup>186</sup> E.g. MOOKERJĪ 1951, p. 595; Rahul SANIKRITYAYANA cited by KOSAMBI in KOSAMBI and GOKHALE 1957, p. xxxviii; KRISHNAMACHARYA, p. 1 of his Sanskrit introduction to *Turkabhāṣā* (1942); MITRA 1971, p. 16; cf. HUNTINGTON 1984, p. 196.

<sup>187</sup> It is referred to as a Mahāvihāra in the colophonic verse of Munisribhadra's *Pañcakramatippani* (munisribhadra *cirāḥ jagaddalamahāvihārasadbhikṣuṇā*) and in 3.7 of the *Rāmācarita* of Sandhyākaranandin (*jagaddalamahāvihāracitarāgām*).

<sup>188</sup> KAJIYAMA 1998, p. 7.

<sup>189</sup> *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, p. xxxvii, fn. 8.

<sup>190</sup> *Com. ldan 'das ma'i man ngag gi rjes su 'brung ba zhes bya ba'i rnam par bshad pa*, f. 320r2: *mi yi dbang po rā ma pa las sa skyong mdzad pa'i <gnas kyi* (Cone, Peking): *mu tig phreng ba ni | dpal ldan rgyal po dza ga ta la gnas par byed pa bdag gis rnam bshad 'di byas so*.

<sup>191</sup> *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, p. xxxvii, fn. 8.

<sup>192</sup> GOKHALE seems to have found his 'coronation' in the *dbang* of *mi yi dbang po rā ma pa las*. The word is used in Tantric texts as a short form for *dbang bskur* 'consecration' (*abhiṣekaḥ*), as at *rGyud spyi*, p. 270, l. 1. But in order to reach his understanding of the phrase in which it occurs he has had to forget the *mi yi* that



valuable information that the monastery was a royal foundation, since the Tibetan of its name *dpal ldan rgyal po dza ga ta la*, is evidently a translation of *śrīmadrājagaddala*-, a form of the name confirmed by its occurrence in Sanskrit at the end of Moksākaragupta's *Turkabhāṣā*, in which he informs us that he too was a resident of this monastery (*śrīmadrājagaddalavihāriya*).<sup>193</sup> But we remain ignorant of the king who founded it. We know that it existed in the time of Rāmapāla, and it is not impossible that it was indeed the work of this last great king of the dynasty; but no evidence of which I am aware precludes its having been created by a predecessor.

Some idea of the scale of the Great Monasteries in the Pala domains is provided by Tāranātha. He informs us that in the reign of Rāmapāla, even after the decline from the time of the early Pālas, there were one hundred and sixty monks holding posts as Paṇḍitas at Vikramaśīla, and that there were about a thousand monks permanently in residence, both there and at Uddāṇḍapura, with many more assembling on the occasion of festivals.<sup>194</sup> We also learn that when Vikramaśīla was founded its design incorporated one hundred and eight shrines: a central temple housing a life-size statue of the Great Awakening (Mahābodhi)<sup>195</sup> surrounded by fifty-three small temples dedicated to the inner

predecessor—*mi yi dbang po* 'king', lit. 'lord of men', rendering Sanskrit *nṛpati*, *narendrah*, or a synonym—, the fact that *rā ma pā la* after it is instrumental not genitive, and the fact that the emphatic and separative particle *ni* that ends the larger phrase of which this is part and marks it out as the subject militates against its being taken as qualifying the monastery. The expression *mi tig phreng ba* describing the commentary figuratively as a string of pearls is probably also intended to convey its title by paronomasia, i.e. *Muktāvali*, a title found elsewhere in this literature, for example as the title of Ratnakarasānti's commentary on the *Hevajratānta*. The author remains anonymous.

<sup>193</sup> *Turkabhāṣā*, p. 39. KAJIYAMA (1998, pp. 6–11) shows that Moksākaragupta was active at some time after c. 1050 and before c. 1252.

<sup>194</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 189, ll. 13–19: *bi kra ma shi lar pa piti ta brgya drag cu tsem re dang* [*tan du du bhuṅga pa dge slong stong re yod cing*] *melod pa la saṅga pa* [*du su rab byung lga stong re 'du*] *irdo rje dān du rgyal po tsho ba bhyar ba* [*theg chen pa bzhi beu re dang*] *nyan thoṅ kyi dge slong nyis brgya re rtag tu bhuṅga shing* [*duṣ du su nyan thoṅ kyi dge slong khri phrag re teḥag pa byung*] *o ta nita pu rir yang rtag tu dge slong stong phrag re bhuṅga* [*theg pa chen chung gi ste gnyis char yod cing*] *duṣ du su rab tu byung ba rnam* [*du pa stong phrag beu gnyis re 'byung bar grags*] 'There were at least 160 Paṇḍitas in Vikramaśīla and 1000 monks who were permanent residents. As many as 5000 renunciate monks gathered there on the occasion of festivals and the like. At Vajrasana (Bodhgaya) 40 adherents of the Mahāyāna and 200 Śrāvaka monks resided permanently, maintained by the king. From time to time as many as 10,000 Śrāvaka monks congregated there. In Uddāṇḍapura there were 1000 permanently resident monks, comprising adherents both of the Mahāyāna and of the Hinayāna. From time to time 12,000 renunciate monks gathered there'; *HHI*, p. 313.

<sup>195</sup> I take this to be an image of Śakyamuni attaining enlightenment seated beneath

deities of the Mantranaya (*gsang snags nang gi lha khang chung ngu*) and fifty-four "common" temples (*lha khang dkyus ma*), that is to say, temples enshrining exoteric, non-Tantric images. The king, we are told, provided generous allowances for the food and clothing of one hundred and eight Paṇḍitas, three Vajracārya specialists to perform Bali offerings, rituals of image-installation, and fire-sacrifices respectively, and three officials. The first is the 'Guardian of Duties' (*bya ba bsrung pa*), perhaps an official appointed to ensure monks' adherence to the various roles assigned to them in the running of the monastery. The second is termed mysteriously 'Guardian of Doves' (*phug ron bsrung pa*), and the third is the 'Supervisor of the Monastery's Subjects' (*lha 'bangs kyi gnyer byed pa*), these being, perhaps, both the serfs or tenants that worked the monastery's estates and the servants within the monastery itself.<sup>196</sup> Archaeological excavations have revealed that the cell-lined square court of Vikramaśīla<sup>197</sup> measured 1073 feet on each side, that the entire site was spread over an area of more than one hundred acres,<sup>198</sup> and that Dharmapāla's monastery at Somapura (Pāhārpur) was of similar design and plan and of only slightly smaller size,<sup>199</sup> as was the monastery founded by Bhavadeva of Samatāṇa at Paṭṭikera (Maināmatī).<sup>200</sup> We also have some information concerning the scale of the monastery at Nālandā during the early seventh century when the Chinese scholar Xuanzang was there. According to the account written by his pupil Huili there were as many 10,000

the Bodhi tree, as in the case of the approximately contemporary principal image in the central shrine of Monastery 1 at Ratnagiri, though that is somewhat larger than life-sized, the figure seated 'in the lotus posture being over two metres in height. See HARLE 1994, p. 163; HUNTINGTON 1985, fig. 19.44. We see another example in the central shrine at Udayagiri (IAR 1997–98, Plate 101; 1998–99, Plate 48).

<sup>196</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 165, l. 17–p. 166, 5; *HHI*, p. 275. The three specialists are a *gtor ma* 'slob dpon, a *rab gnas* 'slob dpon, and a *shin sreg* 'slob dpon, i.e. a *balyācārya*, a *pratiṣṭhācārya*, and a *homācārya*.

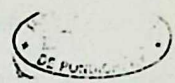
<sup>197</sup> On the reasons for identifying the monastery at Antichak with the Vikramaśīla-mahāvihāra see p. 88.

<sup>198</sup> MITRA in *EITA*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 403; IAR 1972–1973, pp. 4–5 (the western outer wall shows a length of 330 metres; p. 5 gives a plan of the excavated structures); IAR 1973–4, pp. 8–9 (northern wall measures 330 metres).

<sup>199</sup> DIKSHIT 1938, pp. 18–36. Plate 1 (general plan). He reports (p. 18) that the outer quadrangle measures 822 feet externally on each side (according to MITRA in *EITA*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 403, it measures 922 by 919 feet) and (p. 34) that the original monastery was designed to accommodate some 600 to 800 monks and that in the eleventh century the number of residents can have been no more than 400. The massive central cruciform shrine-complex measures 386 by 352 feet.

<sup>200</sup> This monastery is probably that known as the Sālbān Vihāra, consisting like the monasteries of Vikramaśīla and Somapura of a massive cruciform shrine within a square enclosure which though considerably smaller than that of those monasteries was nonetheless of great size, each side being 550 feet in length; see MITRA in *EITA*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 402–403.





monks there, all Mahāyānists, either as permanent residents or visitors, and over a 1000 learned scholars.<sup>201</sup>

These royal monasteries are likely to have accumulated great wealth. The tax-exempt agricultural lands granted to them at the time of their foundation would have provided them with a substantial initial endowment: Huili reports that Nālandā's was the revenue of about 100 villages,<sup>202</sup> and the wealth from this source would no doubt have been augmented by subsequent land-grants<sup>203</sup> and would certainly have been augmented by other votive donations, bequests from the estates of deceased laymen,<sup>204</sup> and the profits of such non-religious activities as banking and the provision of irrigation and other agricultural facilities.<sup>205</sup>

No doubt they would also have benefited from the riches accumulated by individual monks in the form of the rewards (*dakṣiṇā*) that they earned by giving initiations, imparting instruction, installing images, consecrating monasteries and temples, reciting sacred texts, and performing rites for protection, funeral ceremonies, and the like.<sup>206</sup> Tibetan sources record the very large amounts of gold which Indian and Tibetans required for such services. 'Brog mi agreed to give the Indian Gayadhara 100 gold *srang*, some 3,750 grams, each year for five years in return for the transmission of the esoteric Lam 'bras teachings;<sup>207</sup> Zur po che shā kya 'byung nas offered 'Brog mi 100;<sup>208</sup> Rva lo tsā ba gave 100 *srang* to the Nepalese Guru Bha ro phyag rdum for the *Yamāri* cycle instructions; Se

tsha bsoḍ nams rgyal mtshan gave 50 *srang* to the Nepalese Kāyaśrī for the precepts of the *Nam mkha' skor gsum*; Mar pa performed a rite to protect the sons of some wealthy men and charged 10 gold *srang* for each son;<sup>209</sup> and the hagiographies of early Tibetans who travelled to India to acquire initiation and instruction abound in reports of the need to amass large quantities of gold for this purpose.<sup>210</sup>

It would be rash to assume that the fortunes that were garnered in this way by Indian Ācāryas were added directly to the resources of their monasteries. A passage in the *Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhitāntra*, a text produced in the seventh century, at the beginning of the history of the Mantranaya as a fully-fledged path within the Mahāyāna,<sup>211</sup> suggests that this was the case:<sup>212</sup>

After the [*śāntika*] *homah* the Mantrin should request from the disciples a fee (*dakṣiṇā*) of gold, silver, jewels, a stallion, an elephant, a mare, a cow, a bull, a buffalo, cloth, and whatever else is fitting. At that time the disciples should give the *dakṣiṇā* to the Guru, respectfully, with faith, generating joy in their minds. Or at any rate they should make the Guru entirely satisfied. After [the Mantrin, that is to say, the Guru] has done this he should do a rite of self-protection and then exhort the excellent disciples as follows: All the Buddhas teach that this is a field for [the sowing of] merit for the benefit of all living beings. Therefore give to the Saṅgha, [for it is] vast in its pure virtues.

But it is striking that references to the Saṅgha are not found in this context in later texts, which only specify the goods that should be given. These are much the same as in the *Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhi*, though Dipaṅkarabhadra, setting out the procedure for initiation with the Maṇḍala of the *Guhyasamāja*, adds land

<sup>201</sup> BEAL 1914, p. 112.

<sup>202</sup> BEAL 1914, p. 112.

<sup>203</sup> We have a record (EI 17:17: the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla) of one such subsequent land-grant in the case of the monastery at Nālandā. This records that in the 35th year of Devapāla, c. 847, five villages were assigned for the support of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha of a new monastery (*vihāra*) constructed at this site by Mahārāja Bālaputraśrī, the Śāilendra king of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra). That the regnal year is the 35th is the view of SIRCAR (1983, p. 79, note 38). Hirananda SHASTRI read the numerals as 39 (EI 17:17, l. 42).

<sup>204</sup> The *Mālasarvāstivādinaya* speaks of the validity of written wills in which wealthy laymen transfer their entire estate to the Saṅgha; see *Gilgit Manuscripts* vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 140, l. 14–15, l. 1; and SCHOPEN 2004, p. 6. It also sets out rules obliging monks to accept permanent endowments of cash (*akṣayanī*) (SCHOPEN, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>205</sup> On the profit-making activities of Buddhist monasteries in the fifth and sixth centuries in India and in China under the Northern Wei (386–534) see LIU 1994, pp. 120–168. As for banking, the *Mālasarvāstivādinaya* requires the funds of permanent endowments (*akṣayanī*) for the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha to be lent out on interest (*vrddhi*) (SCHOPEN 2004, pp. 6–7, 47–49, 53). On monastic landlordism and the profitable management of irrigation works, in which local farmers were given access to such facilities in return for a share of their crops as a donation to the Saṅgha see SHAW and SUTCLIFFE 2003 and GUNAWARDANA 1979.

<sup>206</sup> For the *dakṣiṇā* for the Tantric funeral ceremony see here p. 102.

<sup>207</sup> *Zhib mo rdo rje*, p. 90, *Blue Annals*, p. 207

<sup>208</sup> *Zhib mo rdo rje*, p. 92

<sup>209</sup> *Blue Annals*, pp. 377, 395, and 400.

<sup>210</sup> See, for example, pp. 399–401 of the account of the life of Mar pa in the *Blue Annals*.

<sup>211</sup> The earliest certain evidence of the text is its Chinese translation by Śubhakarasiṃha and Yijing registered in A.D. 725 (Taishō 848). Eut HODGE (2003, pp. 14–15) points out that Yijing's *Xiyuqifaguo sengzhuān* ('Record of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the West') reports that the monk Wuxing, his contemporary in India, had died as he was setting out to return to China in 674, that texts he had collected were forwarded to China, and that three important Tantras are listed among these works: the *Subāhupariprocāna*, the *Susiddhikara*, and the *Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhi*.

<sup>212</sup> *rNam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud*, f. 173r4–7: sbyin sreg rjes la sngags pa yis | slob ma rnam la yon bsang ba | gzer dang dngul dang rin chen dang | rta dang de bzhin glang po dang | rta ma ba lang ma he gos | ghan yang dngos po ci yang rung | de tshe slob mas gus par ni | dad pa rab tu ldan pa yis | sems la dga' ba bskyed nas su | bla ma ni yon bdul lo | yang na ci nas bla ma de | rab tu ngu bar 'gyur bar bya | de ltar byas nas bdag bsrung ste | slob ma de pos bsgo ba ni | 'di ni bsoḍ nams zhing yin zhes | sems can kun gyi don gyi phyir | skyob pa rnam ni kun gyis gsungs | rnam dag yon tan rgyas pa yi | dge 'dan la ni kun gyis byin.







and begins by declaring: "Appoint for all religious foundations a Superintendent of Religion (*dharmādhikṛtāḥ*) who is energetic, without avarice, learned, and virtuous, who will not oppress them".<sup>218</sup> It goes on to advise him on the qualities he should look for in those whom he appoints as ministers (*sacivāḥ*), military commanders (*daṇḍanāyakaḥ*), and superintendents (*adhikṛtāḥ*), telling the king: "Have them submit to you complete monthly accounts of revenues and outgoings and, after hearing these, personally conduct all business pertaining to religious foundations and the rest".<sup>219</sup> This, of course, is not evidence of what was done in the Pāla realm. But as I read the passage it is the qualities and duties of these various officials that are the subject of injunction, not their existence; and there is certainly nothing exceptional in the office itself, since we have evidence that it was normal in kingdoms throughout the Indic world.<sup>220</sup> Ab-

<sup>218</sup> Ratnāvalī 4.22: *sarvadharmādhikāreṣu dharmādhikṛtām utthitam | alubdham paṇḍitam dharmyaṃ kuru teṣām abādhakam*. The term *dharmādhikārah*, which elsewhere is used to refer to the office of the Superintendent, is clearly used here in the meaning 'religious foundation', as the Tibetan translation *chos kyi gzhi* agrees, and as it occurs earlier in the same passage (4.18) confirms: *dharmādhikārā ye cānye pūrvārājapracaritāḥ | devadronyādāyas te 'pi pravartyantām yathā sthitāḥ* 'And you should ensure that temples and other religious foundations created by former kings should continue as they are'. This sense of the word is also found in Licchavi inscriptions; see LKA 71, ll.12; and 81, l.11-12: *bhaviṣyadbhir opī bhūpatibhiḥ pūrvārājkr̥tadharmādhikārapalanārdīrtaiḥ bhavitavyam* 'Future kings too must take care to maintain religious foundations created by kings of the past'.

<sup>219</sup> Ratnāvalī 4.26: *pratimāsaṃ ca tebhyas tvaṃ sarvaṃ āvayayaṃ śrau | śrutvā \*dharmādhikārādyaṃ kāryaṃ sarvaṃ* (Tib. *chos kyi sogs kyi don kun nyid*) *svayaṃ kuru*.

<sup>220</sup> In the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* of Kālidāsa Duṣyanta, wishing to conceal his identity from Śakuntalā tells us that he has been appointed by the king to the office of Superintendent of Religion and accordingly has come to her hermitage in his official capacity to satisfy himself that they are free of hindrances to the performance of their rites; Act 1, after v.22, p.38: *bhavati yathā pauraveṇa rājñā dharmādhikāre niyuktaḥ so 'ham avighnakriyopalambhāya dharmarāyaṃ āyātāḥ*. The fifth Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription, of 533/4, recording a formal request for the purchase of land in the Koṭivara district to be given to a nearby temple, speaks of it being presented with the full knowledge of the Office of Religion (*dharmādhikāra-buddhyā*) (EI 15:7, p.143). A banker Rāhaga has the title *dharmakarmādhikārt* 'the superintendent of religious activities' in the Kharod inscription dated in 1181/2 of Ratnadeva III, the Kalacuri of Ratnapura (EI 21:26, l.28: *śreṣṭhinā rāhaga-nātra dharmakarmādhikāriṇā*). The humorous play *Āgamadambara*, composed by the Kashmirian philosopher Jayantabhaṭṭa and set in the Kashmir of his own time, during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman (883-902), has a Śaiva ascetic inform us that a brahmin Saṃkarasana has been appointed by that king to the *dharmaraksādhikārah*, the 'Office of Superintendent of Religion' for the whole country (Act 3, Prelude, p.132: *śakalāc yeva vaṣuṃdhālāc dhammalakṣādhiāle niṭṭe (\*sakalāc eva vaṣuṃdhārāyā dharmaraksādhikāre niyuktaḥ)*). The term *dharmādhikṛtāḥ* occurs in a fifteenth-century inscription from Nilācala, the site of the famous temple

sense of thorough external control of the great monasteries seems all the more unlikely when one considers that apart from the fact that they were such large and wealthy establishments it was not the case that by building, equipping, and endowing a monastery a patron surrendered his ownership entirely. The patron continued to be the owner of the monastery and its contents (*mahāvihārasvāmī*, *vihārasvāmī*) in some sense and the monks were obliged to employ all these for the purposes for which they were designated, the return for the owner being the constantly augmenting merit that was generated for him by their repeated use (*paribhogāṇvayaṃ puṇyam*). Only where there was no such use, as in the case of a Caitya, did a donor gain merit once and for all by the simple act of surrendering ownership (*tyāgāṇvayaṃ puṇyam*).<sup>221</sup>

Moreover, we know that monks who held senior teaching positions in the great monasteries did so by royal appointment,<sup>222</sup> and that rituals for state pro-

of Kūmākhya, near Gauhati in Assam, recording a grant of land by a king Mādhava. The inscription opens with the information that the grant has the approval of this official: *dharmādhikṛtenānumatam* (SIRCAC 1979, p.16, l.1). Mpu Prapañca reveals in his Old Javanese poem *Deśavarṇana* that there were two Superintendents of Religion in the Majapahit kingdom of east Java, one for the Buddhists (*dharmādhyaḥsa kasogatan*), and the other for the Śaivas (*dharmādhyaḥsa kashaiwan*). Inscriptions from that kingdom reveal that there was also a board of subordinate religious officials known as the Assessors of Religion (*dharmopapatti* or *dharmādhikāraṇa*); see SANTIKO 1995, p.56; cf. here p.119; for references see ZOETMULDER 1982, under *dharmādhyaḥsa*, *dharmopapatti* and *dharmādhikāraṇa*.

<sup>221</sup> On this crucial distinction between *paribhogāṇvayaṃ puṇyam* and *tyāgāṇvayaṃ puṇyam* see Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on 4.121a (*caitye tyāgāṇvayaṃ puṇyam* 'In the case of a Caitya there is merit that accrues from surrender': *caitye saragasyātmārthaṃ dānam ity uktam | tatrasāry upabhoktari katham puṇyam bhavati | divividhaṃ puṇyam tyāgāṇvayaṃ tyāgād eva yad utpadyate paribhogāṇvayaṃ ca deyadharmaparibhogād yad utpadyate | caitye tyāgāṇvayaṃ puṇyam* (4.121a) 'It has been said that a gift to a Caitya made by one who is not free of attachment is for his own benefit. Since there is no enjoyment of the gift in such cases how can there be merit [generated by such a gift]? Merit is of two kinds: *tyāgāṇvayaṃ*, which arises only from the surrender [of ownership of what is given], and *paribhogāṇvayaṃ*, which arises from the enjoyment of a pious gift [by the recipients]'. One should note that the restrictive particle *eva* is used here only after *tyāgād*. Vasubandhu does not state conversely in the case of *paribhogāṇvayaṃ puṇyam* that this kind of merit arises only (*eva*) from the use of the donation. I infer that merit in such cases was understood to arise both from the act of surrendering possession and from subsequent use. This is confirmed by Candrakīrti, who in his *Prasannapadā*, commenting on *paribhogāṇvayaṃ* in *Madhyamakakārikā* 17.5a, speaks of the goods used as 'surrendered' (*parityaktasya*). See *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on 4.4ab addressing the conundrum of how the Buddha's doctrine of moral action as intention (*cetanā*) can be reconciled with this claim of the accretion of further merit (*puṇyavarddhiiḥ*) whenever a recipient uses something donated whether or not the donor is aware of it; and SANDERSON 1995c, pp.38-40.

<sup>222</sup> *Riṅgya gar chos* 'byung, p.179, ll.13-14: *rgyal pos spyen drangs te nā la ndā dang | bi kra ma la shi la' nub sgo bar bskos shin* 'The king invited [Vāgīśvarakīrti]



tection were performed on behalf of the monarch at Vikramaśiṣa. We have seen above Tāranātha's report of the fire-ritual performed for the benefit of the dynasty by the Vajracāryas of that monastery; and two important texts on the ritual of initiation written by two major Tantric authorities under the early Palas, the *Sarvaṅgajñāna* of Anandagarbha and the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavādhī* of Dipankarabhadra, the successor of Buddhajñāna at Vikramaśiṣa, insert ancillary rites specifically for the averting of danger from the monarch.<sup>223</sup> Moreover,

to Nalanda and made him the Guardian of the Western Gate of Vikramaśiṣa' p. 182, l. 10: *bdun kyi ka chen dang pa brin ze rin chen rdo rje ni* 'The brahmin Ratnavajra, the first [occupant of the position of the] Great Central Pillar of Vikramaśiṣa' p. 182, l. 19: *rgyal pos bi kra ma shi la'i 'pa* (corr.: *sa* Ed.) *tra phul* 'The king bestowed [on Ratnavajra] the charter of appointment [as the chief monk] of Vikramaśiṣa' *HBI*, p. 297 and 301. We may presume that the same applied to those who held office as the Gate Guardians of the other three directions (*Rgya gar chos 'gyung*, p. 181, ll. 8-10; and to Jñānaśrīmītra, described as the second to hold office at Vikramaśiṣa as the Great Central Pillar (p. 183, l. 11). King Bheṣṭapāla (Abhayapāla?), a king otherwise unknown, whom Tāranātha makes the predecessor of Neyapāla (Nayapāla [c. 1027-1043], the successor of Mahipāla II), is reported to have bestowed charters of appointment on only seventy Paṇḍitas of Vikramaśiṣa (*Rgya gar chos 'gyung*, p. 184, ll. 14: *bi kra ma shi la'i ni | pa ndi ta bdun cu tsam gyi 'pa tra* (corr.: *sa* tra Ed.) *las ma tshugs te*, *HBI*, p. 304) Tāranātha tells us that for that reason he is not counted among the Seven Palas (p. 184, ll. 14-15, *HBI*, p. 304), that is to say the seven remembered for their exceptional patronage of the faith. These seven are not listed, but Tāranātha does say which of the Palas were excluded from the list. The seven that remain are Gopāla, Devapāla, Dharmapāla, Mahipāla, Mahipāla, Neyapāla (Nayapāla), and Rāmapāla. Other, later appointments recorded by Tāranātha are those of Dipankarajñāna as Upādhyāya at Vikramaśiṣa under Bheṣṭapāla, with responsibility also for Uddāṅgapura (p. 304), the Prāmaṇika Yumārī under Nayapāla (p. 187, l. 19: *bi kra ma shi la'i 'pa tra* (corr.: *sa* tra Ed.) *cher thob* 'He obtained the great charter of Vikramaśiṣa', *HBI*, p. 308), and Abhayakaragupta as Upādhyāya, first at Vajrasana and then at Vikramaśiṣa and Nalanda, under Rāmapāla (p. 189, l. 10-13; *HBI*, p. 313). I take the term *patra* here (*spatram*, *patrā*) to mean an official document bestowing an office and hence by extension office or authority bestowed by this means; cf. *patrā* in *Tantrālokaśrī*, vol. 3, p. 191, ll. 3-6, the commentary of the Kashmirian Mahāyānaprakāśa p. 115.8, and *Vāmaśaivamatavivaraṇa*, p. 55 (on the theft of such documents by fraudulent Gurus); also the expressions *tāmrapatram* and *śāsanapatram* for a royal charter. With the names of Indian Buddhist authors and translators we commonly encounter the title Mahāpaṇḍita (Mkhas pa chen po / Paṇ chen) (also Mahāpaṇḍitasthāvira, Mahāpaṇḍitācārya, and Mahāpaṇḍitabhikṣu). Among Tantric scholars with this title are Atulyavajra, Advayavajra, Abhayakaragupta, Anandagarbha, Kuladatta, Darpanacārya, Dipankarajñāna, Durjayacandra, Nāgopā, Buddhaguhya, Bhavabhūṭa, Ratnakarajñāna, Ratnakarāśānti, Ravisrījñāna, Vajrasakrīti, Vibhūtiacandra, Śākyarakṣita, and Śrīdhara. It is perhaps analogous to the Chinese Buddhist title *dashi* (Jap. *dashi*) 'Great Master', which came to be bestowed by the Emperor on distinguished monks from the reign of Yizong (839-873) onwards; see FORTÉ 1994, pp. 1023-1034.

<sup>223</sup> Anandagarbha, *Sarvaṅgajñāna* f. 29v1-2 (a preliminary rite): *'mānūṣādhīcārya-*

Tāranātha relates several occasions on which Buddhist Tantric masters were believed to have used Tantric rituals to good effect against the enemies of their patrons in times of danger.<sup>224</sup> In some sense, then, these were state monasteries, not unlike the great imperial monasteries of Tang China and Japan,<sup>225</sup> rather

*hūmanasgṛhasaḥitena* (em. [Tib. cited in Ed. *mi rus kyi bye ma khrog dang dug dang bees pa dang*]: *manuṣāsthicārāho + + + + viśaḥitena* Co., Ed.) *manḍalavighraṇāṁ nivarṇamāṣiṣabhūpālādīśāntikahomāṁ kuryāt* 'After having removed [all] impeding spirits from the Maṇḍala by offering into the fire powder of human bone mixed with blood and poison he should perform a fire-sacrifice for the warding off of dangers from himself, the candidate(s) for initiation, and for the monarch or other [ruler]; and Dipankarabhadra, *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavādhī* f. 16v1, vv. 373-374 (a concluding rite): *saty eva sambhava teṣāṁ pratyekam ekām vā rājā vā bhūpater aṭha | dīpālāsavāṁtamaśāntau ca hutvā yāceta dakṣiṇāṁ* 'With his left hand he should take hold of the right thumb [of the person who has been initiated] and make offerings into the sacrificial fire in accordance with the prescribed procedure, doing this for each [of the initiates in turn], if that is possible. Having made twenty-one oblations or just one to ward off danger from [each of these and, then from] the monarch or [lesser] ruler, also from [the Vajracāryas who have officiated as] the Guardians of the Directions and himself, he should request his fee'. The rite of offering at this point a *śāntikahomā* of twenty-one oblations for each of the candidates while holding their right thumbs with the left hand is derived from *Mahāvairocanaḥśambhōdhitānta*, but the extension of that rite in order to protect the king, the Guardians of the Directions, and the main officiant himself is an innovation not found there; f. 172v5-6 ... 173r3-4: *slob ma sdig dang bral ba kun | de ltar legs par tsud nas ni | de dag zhi bar bya ba'i phyr shyin sreg cho ga bzhin du bya ... de nas slob ma re re nas | mkhas pas lag pa gyon pa yis | gyas pa'i mtho bong bzung nas su | sreg blugs re re las kyang ni | shyin sreg bya | yid ni mnyam par bzhag nas su | sreg blugs re re las kyang ni | gsang sngags cho ga bzhin zlos shing | nyi shu rtsa gōg shyin sreg bya | na mah sa ma nta ba dāḥ nām | om ma hā shā 'nti* (em.: *nta* Co.) *ga la shā nti ka ra pra sha ma dha rma ni rja ta a bhā ba sva bhā ba dha rma sa ma ta tō prā pte svā hā | shyin sreg rjes la sngags pa yis | slob ma rams la yon bsang ba* 'When he has in this way introduced all the sin-free disciples [before the Maṇḍala] he should duly perform a fire-offering to ward of danger from them. ... Then the learned [officiant], should concentrate himself and make offerings into the fire, after grasping the right thumb of each disciple with his left hand. With his mind concentrated he should offer twenty-one oblations for each, reciting according to the Mantra rite NAMAḤ SAMANTABUDDHĀNĀM | OM MAHĀŚĀNTIGATA ŚĀNTIKARA PRASĀDHARMANIRJĀTA ABHĀVASVBHĀVADHARMASAMĀTĀPĀPĀPĀ SVĀHĀ. After the fire-offering the Mantrin should request his fee from the disciples'.

<sup>224</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'gyung*, p. 178, ll. 4-7; *HBI*, p. 294 (the Balyācārya of Vikramaśiṣa destroys a Turaṣka army invading from Bengal); p. 186, ll. 8-11, *HBI*, p. 306 (Prajñārakṣita makes offerings to Cakraśaṅvara when Vikramaśiṣa monastery is attacked by a Turaṣka army; the army is struck by lightning, which killed their leader and by a Turaṣka army; the army is struck by lightning, which killed their leader and many others, so that they were repelled); p. 197, l. 4, *HBI*, pp. 326-7 (Lilāvajra, Tantrācārya of Vikramaśiṣa, defeats the Turaṣkas by drawing the Yamārīcakra); and p. 197, l. 22-p. 198, l. 9; *HBI*, p. 328 (Kamalarakṣita drives off a Turaṣka army from Vikramaśiṣa by throwing enchanted water at them during a Tantric feast [*ganacakra*]).

<sup>225</sup> On the imperial Great Monasteries of China and Japan (Ch. *ta si*, Jpn. *daiji*) [Skt.



than autonomous, self-governing institutions.

### The Pālas' Engagement with Śaivism

The Pālas were certainly the most liberal patrons of Buddhist institutions in early medieval India, and it was no doubt largely because of this that the religion was able to develop and flourish so remarkably in their realm. However, it should not be thought that the scale of these rulers' support implies that they at least, unlike the other royal patrons of Buddhism that have been reviewed here, must have turned their backs on Śaivism, starving it of patronage that it might otherwise have received. For there is much evidence to the contrary.

In the ninth century Devapāla is praised in a charter of his son Mahendrapāla for having built two temples of outstanding beauty during his rule, one for the Buddha and the other for the consort of Śiva;<sup>226</sup> and Mahendrapāla is reported to have established a temple for the emaciated goddess Carcā (Carcikā/Cāmuṇḍā).<sup>227</sup> An eleventh-century Prastasti from Bānggarh, ancient Koṭivarṣa in Varendrī, also called Devikoṭa and Śoṇitapura, informs us that Nayapāla had the Saiddhāntika Sarvaśiva as his royal preceptor (*gauḍarājaguruḥ*), and that when Sarvaśiva retired he passed this office to his brother Mūrtiśiva. This implies that Nayapāla received Śaiva initiation, since to initiate the king is fundamental to the Śaiva Rājaguru's role. It also tells us that at the site of this inscription Mahipāla I, Nayapāla's predecessor, had bestowed a Kailāsa-like monastery on Sarvaśiva's predecessor Indrasīva. Mahipāla is described here as a 'knower of reality' (*tattvavit*), which suggests in this Śaiva context that he too had received Śaiva initiation, which suggests in turn that the gift of the monastery was his Guru's *dakṣiṇā*. It is probable, therefore, that Indrasīva too, like his successors Sarvaśiva and Mūrtiśiva,

*mahāvihāra*)) see FORTE and DURT 1984. For Japanese Tantric Buddhist rituals of state protection (*chingokokka*) see MAY 1967.

<sup>226</sup> EI 42-2, II. 12-13: *yo nirmame \*sugatasadma ghaṇa* ca (corr.: *sugatasadmaghaṇa* ca Ed.) *gaurya yat kautukaṃ ca tilakaṃ ca jagatraye* 'pi.

<sup>227</sup> EI 39-7, the Siyān stone slab inscription of Nayapāla, v. 40: *mahe[n]dra[p]alacarcā-yā mahendrasaṁśodayaḥ | yaḥ śailtṛṇ vadaḥbhīm śaile sopānena sahākarot* 'who, equal in greatness to Mahendra (Viṣṇu), built for Mahendrapāla's Carcā a stone Vadaḥbhī temple on [her] hill and a flight of steps [leading to it]'. When D.C. SIRCAR published this inscription he judged that it is probable that the Mahendrapāla mentioned in this verse is the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king of that name (EI 39-7, p. 48), who ruled c. 885-908. In the light of the discovery of Mahendrapāla's Māldā inscription (EI 42-2) we may now safely assume that he was the Pāla of that name. On this goddess see here p. 231. Carcikā, Cāmuṇḍā, Cārmamuṇḍā, and Karpamoṭī are listed as synonymous deity-names in *Amarakośa* 1.1.46. The name Carcikā appears in place of Cāmuṇḍā in the *Picumata* in treatments of the eight Mothers (the seven ending with Carcikā [Mahāśvari, Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Mahendri, Carcikā], with Paramā/Pūranā/Aghoreśī making up the total).

had held the office of royal preceptor.<sup>228</sup> I know of no direct evidence that Mahipāla's successor Vighrahapāla III had a Saiddhāntika Rājaguru, but it is likely that he did, since in his Āṅgācī copper-plate inscription he is described as 'devoted to Śiva's worship',<sup>229</sup> and there is evidence which strongly suggests that this tradition was still in place under his successor Rāmapāla. For in the twelfth century the South-Indian Saiddhāntika Trilocanaśiva tells us that his preceptorial line descends from a Dharmasāmbhu (Dharmaśiva) who had held office as the royal preceptor of 'the king of Gauḍa', a standard expression for the Pāla rulers.<sup>230</sup> Since three preceptorial generations intervene in that account between Dharmasāmbhu and Trilocanaśiva, it is probable that this king was Rāmapāla.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>228</sup> The Bānggarh Prastasti of Mūrtiśiva (SIRCAR 1983b), found at Śivavāḷī (mod. Śībāḍī) in the vicinity of Koṭivarṣa, II.8-9: 9 *śrīmān indrasīvaḥ sphuṭaṃ harīharapṛāyāṇi śivendrakṛtīm bibhṛad vaṃśaivibhūṣaṇaṃ samabhavaḥ chisyo 'ya puryaṭimanaḥ | yasmai kāhaṇapūṇjamañjuracitaprasādamerushpuratkaillāśobha-maḥṇaḥ dadāu iha mahipāla nṛpa tattvavit*; II.11-12, reporting that Indrasīva's successor Sarvaśiva was the royal preceptor of Nayapāla: *rājio śrīnayapālasya gurus tattvavidāṃ varaḥ | śrīmān sarvaśivas tasya śiṣyo 'bhūd bhūṣaṇam bhuvah*; and II.13-14, reporting that Sarvaśiva resigned his office as the Gauḍarājaguru in favour of his brother Mūrtiśiva: *14 yenaśvarjitagauḍarājagururūlakṣmīr nijaḥbhā-tari śrīmān mūrtiśive niveśya vipināvāsaṃ svayaṃ vāñchalā | kṣīrodāṇavavama-nthanotthitamillalakṣmīr svaśiṣye harāv āropyaḥarato viṣaṃ paśupater ṛttāntam udghāṭitam*.

<sup>229</sup> EI 15-18, II.17-19 (v.12): *pta-ḥ> sajjanaloceanaiḥ smararipoḥ pūjānuraktaḥ sadā saṅgrāme caturō dhikāś ca haritah kālāḥ kule viduṣām | caturvarṇyasamā-drayaḥ śitayaśaḥpūjair jagad rañjayan śrīmadvighrahapāladavanṛpatir jāṇie tato dhāmabhrī* 'From [Nayapāla] was born the illustrious king Vighrahapāladava, who was drunk by the eyes of the virtuous, ever devoted to the worship of Śiva, more skilled in battle than Indra, the god of Death to the families of his foes, support of the four caste-classes, white-washing the world with the multitudes of his stuccoed temples'.

<sup>230</sup> See, e.g., in a pedestal inscription of the reign of Palupāla (r.c. 1165-1199): *śrīgau-ḍeśvarapalāpālādānām* (HUNTINGTON 1984, p. 239, no. 59) and the Sārṇāth inscription of Mahipāla (HULTSCH 1885), v.2: *gauḍādhipo mahipālāḥ*.

<sup>231</sup> Colophonic verses at the end of Trilocanaśiva's *Somaśambhupaddhativākyā* (IFP, MS Transcripts 457 [T1] and 170 [T2]; edition in BRUNNER 1963-1998, Pt. 4, pp. 422-427 [B]): 1 *śrīcedirājabhuvī \*śaivajanākarākhyasrīgolaki-yamathabhāvasiḥ* ca yo 'sau (*śaivajanākarākhyā* T2B: *śaivajanākarākhyas* T2 • *śrīgolakhiyamatha* conj.: *śrīkolaktivimala* T1T2: *śrīgolakteimala* B • *bhāvasiḥ* ca yo 'sau conj.: *bhāvasiḥśaivayosa* T1T2B) | *tadvamśajaḥ śivamatāmalakṣa-vaṇetā śrīdharmasāmbhur iti gauḍopatiṇḍranāthah* || 2 *tasmād asū anala-śankaradeśiko 'bhūd diyāṃgamaṇbunidhir* 'śhitakalpavṛkṣah (T1: *tilakalpavṛkṣah* B) | *svargaukasam* api padam vacasā labhante 'yasyaiva (conj. B: *yasyaika* T1T2) *janmamaraṇaika* 'bhayān (T2: *bhayaṃ* T1) *nirastāḥ* || 3 \**śrīgolakhiyasam-tānavomavyāpti* (golakiya T2B: *kolakiya* T1) *tataḥ śivah | śrīsomaśambhur* ity āśīt kalau lokahitāya vai || 4 *jñānaśaktivapus tasmāj jñānaśambhuḥ sadā-śivah | yenedaṃ dyotitam sarvaṃ śaivajñānāmālarciśā* || 5 *somarkavamāṇpa-mauli* \**vilolitaṅghrī* (T2B: *vilolitaṅghrī* T1) *vidyajānānanasarojadivācikaṃ mām*



There is other evidence of these kings' engagement with Śaivism. The poet Saṃdhyakaraṇandin describes king Maṇapāla, Kāmapāla's second son, as a devotee of Śiva;<sup>222</sup> and a pedestal inscription of 1026 recording renovations of Buddhist structures at Sarnāth by two Pāla princes Śhīrapāla and Vasantapāla, also tells us that Mahipāla I had engaged them to have hundreds of temples of Śiva, Citraghaṇṭā, and other deities built in Benares and that he did so after offering obeisance at the feet of the Guru Vāmarāśi of that city, who, as we can infer from his name in -rāśi, was a Śaiva ascetic of the Atimārga.<sup>223</sup>

[*dināndhasūrikapāṇāthi*] *pārjātā* (corr.: *pārjāta* T2B; *vārjāta* T1) *śrījāna-*  
*sambhu* *ananta malinaṃ puṇāta* [1] In the land of the king of Cedi [lived]  
Dharmaśambhu, a spiritual descendant in the lineage of the famous Bhāvaśiva  
[=Saddhāśiva/Prabhāśiva, founder] of the venerable monastery at Gelaki. He  
mastered one hundred thousand [verses] of the scriptures of the religion of Śiva  
and became the Lord [Guru] of the King of Gauda. [2] His successor was the fa-  
mous teacher Analaśiva, an ocean of the celestial scriptures, a tree of paradise  
that granted every wish, one through whose instruction men attained the world  
of the gods, free of the unique terror of birth and death. [3] His successor was  
Somaśambhu, a Śiva who for the good of mankind [was the sun whose light] filled  
the sky of the venerable lineage of Gelaki. [4] His successor in [this] Kali age was  
Jānaśambhu, the very embodiment of [Śiva's] power of knowledge, [a] Śaśiva  
who illuminated this universe with the pure radiance of his understanding of Śiva's  
teachings. [5] His feet were caressed by the crowns of kings of the lineages of both  
the moon and the sun. He was a sun to the lotuses that are the faces of the learned.  
He was the tree of paradise to the needy, to the blind, to scholars, to the wretched,  
and to uninvited guests. May Jānaśambhu ever [continue to] cleanse me [as his  
disciple], impure as I am'. The king of Cedi referred to at the beginning of this  
passage is the Kālacuri and his land is Dāhaladeśa, the region of central India ap-  
proximately comprising within modern Madhya Pradesh the Jabalpur District, and  
parts of the Satna, Panna, and Rewa Districts.

<sup>222</sup> *Rāmacarita* 4.35b: *śivaprayat*.

<sup>223</sup> The Sarnāth inscription of Mahipāla (HULTZSCH 1885): *opi namo buddhaya* | *vā-*  
*rānāsarasayam* (corr.: *vārānāsarasayam* Ep.) *guravādvāmarāśipādābhyaṃ* | *ārā-*  
*dhyā namatubhūpatīrurukhaṃ śaival* | *ādhiśam* (?) | *idāṃcitraghaṇṭāśāktiratna-*  
*śatāni yau* | *gaudādhipo mahipālāḥ kṛtāyāṃ śrīmān cāraṇyāt* | *śaphalikapāpāpā-*  
*tyau bodhāve avinivartinau* | *tau dharmarājūḥ sāṅgam dharmamecakraṃ pu-*  
*nar navaṃ* | *kṛtāntau ca navānām oṣṭamahāśāsthanāśālagandhakṛtān* | *etāṃ*  
*śhīrāpālo vasantapālo 'nujah śrīmān* | 'Obeisance to the Buddha. Śhīrapāla  
and his younger brother Vasantapāla, whom the Glorious Mahipāla, the ruler of  
Gauda, caused to erect hundreds of fine temples for Śiva, Citraghaṇṭā, and [other]  
gods in Kāśī after worshipping the venerable Gurava Vāmarāśi's feet, the lotuses  
that beautify the lake that is Vārānaśi, with [strands of] duckweed "clinging to  
them" (?) in the form of the hair of the kings that bow down to them, have made  
the Dharmarājūḥ, a new Dharmamecakra together with its ancillaries, and a new  
Buddha-shrine from stones of the eight sacred places, having made their learn-  
ing bear fruit, refusing to turn back in their quest for enlightenment'. The read-  
ing *śaivalādhiśam* is surely a mistake, for if it were sound it could only yield  
the absurd meaning 'overlord of duckweed'. The meaning required by the con-  
text would be secured by *śaivalasāṅgam*. This has the advantage that it echoes  
a verse in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* (5.9), which is likely to have been in the

Similarly, the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla (r.c. 860–  
917) records his establishing a Śiva and granting a village to it and the associ-  
ation of Pāsupatācāryas (*pāsupatācāryaparīṣat*) attached to the foundation; and  
though it gives him the epithet *paramasaugataḥ* it reports that he had been re-  
sponsible for the building of a vast number of other temples for this deity.<sup>224</sup>

We have even more striking evidence of this kind in the case of Nayapāla.  
His Siyān stone slab inscription (EI 39.7) devotes most of its sixty-five verses  
(21–63) to detailing an extensive program of royal temple building and image  
installation undertaken throughout the Pāla realm. Damage to the inscription  
has removed the name of the king who was responsible for this program, but it  
is extremely unlikely that it was other than Nayapāla, since the account follows  
immediately on that of his martial exploits, following those of his predecessors.  
These pious activities comprise the construction of a temple topped by golden  
lions and a finial, evidently therefore a Vaṇabhi temple for a goddess,<sup>225</sup> with  
a temple of Śiva and an attached two-storied monastery (*maṭho dvibhūmiḥ*) for  
the accommodation of ascetics to its south (v.24), a temple with a [golden] finial,

memory of the author of the inscription, to the effect that during the austerities  
that Pārvaṭi undertook to win the hand of Śiva her face was just as charming with  
her ascetic's braids as it had been with her elegantly adorned coiffure; for, says  
Kālidāsa: 'The lotus is not beautiful only when lines of bees hover about it  
but even when [strands of] duckweed cling to it' (*na śaṭpadasaṅgibhir eva paṅkajam*  
*śaivalasāṅgam api prakāśate*). However, this solution has the weakness that  
it is not open to any obvious explanation of how the error arose. Perhaps the per-  
son who wrote the letters on the stone before they were engraved was thinking  
of Vāmarāśi's official status in Benares. If that, as is very likely, was as the ab-  
bot of a Śaiva monastery, then the error *-ādhiśam* might be the result of the in-  
trusion into his mind of an expression such as *-ivādhiśam*, *śaivamathādhiśam*,  
or *śaivalayādhiśam*. For the expression *mathādhiśaḥ* (=mathādhipatiḥ) see, e.g.,  
*Rājatarangīnī* 7.298ab: *bhaṭṭārakamathādhiśaḥ sādhuḥ yomaśivo jati*; and  
the anonymous *Kumārāpaladevavarita* v.51a: *taṃ nimantrya mathādhiśam* (called  
*mathādhipatiḥ* in v.49b). But this would be more convincing if the reading  
corrected were closer to *śaivalādhiśam* in written appearance or pronunciation.  
Citraghaṇṭā has her temple in Benares near that of Śiva Citragupteśvara as one of  
the Nine Durgās. The sense intended may be that he had [new] shrines built for all  
nine of these goddesses.

<sup>224</sup> HULTZSCH 1886, ll.28–29: *paramasaugata mahārājādhirājaśrīvighraṇapā-*  
*ladevopādānuḍhyātāḥ parameśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārako mahārājādhirājaḥ*  
*śrīmānnārāyaṇapāladevaḥ ...* | ll.38–41: *matam astu bhavatām | kalasopale*  
*mahārājādhirājaśrīmārāyaṇapāladevena svayamkārītasahasrāyatanaśya tatra*  
*pratiṣṭhāpitasya bhagavataḥ śivabhaṭṭārakasya pāsupatācāryaparīṣadaś ca* |  
*yatharham pūjābalicarusaṭṭranavakarmādyartham śayanāsanaṅgānapratyaya-*  
*bhaigayāparīṣārdyartham | anyeṣāṃ api svābhikāntānām | svaparikalpita-*  
*vibhāgena anavadyabhogārtham ca* | *yathaparilikkhitamuktikāgrāmāḥ ...* I agree  
with HULTZSCH that *svayamkārītasahasrāyatanaśya* here means '[Śiva] for whom  
he [Nārāyaṇapāla] himself has built a thousand temples'.



presumably for Śiva, since it was equipped with eleven [subsidiary] shrines in which the eleven Rudras were installed (v. 25), a Vādabhi temple for the Mother Goddess<sup>236</sup> and a series of temples for the Nine Durgās,<sup>237</sup> a lofty temple for Śiva Hetukeśvara at Devikoṭa,<sup>238</sup> a temple of Śiva Kṣemeśvara with a golden

final and a water reservoir,<sup>239</sup> a temple of Śiva Varāṅkeśvara together with a monastery and reservoir,<sup>240</sup> a temple of Viṣṇu (v. 33), a temple of Ghaṇṭiśa and of Bhairava surrounded by the sixty-four Mothers 'in his own city',<sup>241</sup> a temple of Śiva Vajreśvara at Campā,<sup>242</sup> and a Vādabhi temple on a hill-top with a flight of

<sup>235</sup> Verse 23ab: [sukdhāsubhram kāncanasimhakumbhasirasam] .... That a Vādabhi temple housing an image of a goddess should be distinguished from others by being surmounted by [two] lions and a final, and that Vādabhi temples are principally for the housing of goddesses, is prescribed in the Śaiva Pratiśṭhāntantras, Tantras, that is, which specialize in temple construction and installation. See *Mayasamgraha*, f. 28r-v (5.86c-89): *vasaṃśe ṣoḍaśatyāgāt sūryasaṃvordhītyati* || 87 *caturdanāt purāḥ siddhasukāghro vādabhiḥ smṛtaḥ* | *prāsādo vyaktalingeṣu netareṣū-dito budhaiḥ* || 88 *vistārād dviguṇotsedhaḥ phanśādīkṛtasamvṛtiḥ* | *pārśve simha-dvayopeto madhye kalāśabhūṣitaḥ* || 89 *padaikasārḍhabhittir vā sapāda-dviguṇonnatih* || *viśeṣato 'mbikādnān saṃnidhishthānam tritam*; *ibid.*, f. 29v (vv. 119-121): *vādabhyām ambikādevyāḥ keśarī garuḍo hareḥ* | *śrīyo diviyo vṛṣaḥ sambhoḥ savitūḥ kamalo 'thavā* || *tad anyeṣā ca devānāṃ svayudham yā hitam param* | *svacīhnaparamaṃ yad vā nījakāpaktam eva vā* || *yad utpatti-sthitidhvaṃśakāraṇaṃ viśvatomukham* | *bhūti sarvātmano mūrdhni sā cāḍā ga-ditā budhaiḥ*; f. 28v (5.89cd), referring to the Vādabhi type of temple: *viśeṣato 'mbikādnān saṃnidhishthānam tritam*. The sections of this and other unpublished Śaiva works (*Bṛhatkālotara*, *Piṅgālmata*, *Devāmata*, and *Mohacūḍotara*) that deal with the building and design of the various kinds of temple are being edited, translated, and analyzed in a doctoral thesis being prepared by my pupil Elizabeth Harris.

<sup>236</sup> Verse 26: *mātūḥ kṛte 'traina \*suvarṇakumbhabhāṭṭrajīṣṇumūrdhām* (em.: *suvarṇa-kumbhabhāṭṭrajīṣṇumūrdhām* Ed.) *valabhiṃ śilābhiḥ* | [20 syllables obliterated] *devi*.

<sup>237</sup> Verse 27: *śailāni mandirāṇy atra mandarāṅkāni yāni ca* | + + + + + *kṛtā yā nava caṇḍikāḥ* 'and here stone temples of the Mandara kind ... the Nine Caṇḍikās'. The Nine Caṇḍikās are surely the eighteen-armed form of Mahāśūrasamardini Durgā known as Ugracaṇḍā and her eight sixteen-armed ancillaries Rudracaṇḍā, Pracāṇḍā, Caṇḍogṛā, Caṇḍanāyikā, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍavati, Caṇḍarūpā, and Aticaṇḍikā. They are nine to match the nine days of the autumnal Navarātra festival. For these goddesses, also called the Nine Durgās, see *Ag-nipurāṇa* 50.7-11 and 185.3-10; and Vidyāpati, *Durgābhaktitarāṅginī*, p. 198. That Nayapāla had [nine] temples built for these goddesses is in keeping with the preferred option of *Agnipurāṇa* 185.3cd: *durgā tu navagehasṭhā ekāgarasthihā* 'Durgā may be in nine temples or one'. For a Pāddhati for the worship of Ugracaṇḍā and her ancillaries see *Ugracaṇḍāprakaraṇa*.

<sup>238</sup> Verse 28ab: *devikoṭe hetukeśasya śambhor yaḥ prāsādam śailam uccair akārṣit*. For the Hetukeśvara of Devikoṭa/Koṭivarsa (modern Bāngarh) see SANDERSON 2001, fn. 4, p. 7; also *Picumata* f. 8r-3a (3.119e-123), which requires the installation of Hetukeśvara as Bhairava in the northeastern segment of the initiation Maṇḍala: *tāṇe tu diśābhāge koṭivarsaṃ prakāpayet* || 120 *vajraṃ tatra samālīkhyā tatra śūlodakaṃ likhet* | *dīkṣu caiva vidīkṣu ca śūlapotrā likhet tathā* || 121 *śūla tasyāgrato likhyā kuṇḍasyaiva mahāpate* | *poṭṭisaṃ pūrvato nyasya vajreśvādhāsaṃ priye* || 122 *aṣṭapatraṃ likhet padmaṃ talhaiveha na saṃśayaḥ* | *hetukeśvaram ālikhyā sadāśivātmanu tathā* || 123 *kārṇikāyaṃ mahādevi mahābhairavarūpiṇam* | *rudrāśṭakasaṃpetamā pūrvavad devi cālikhet*; and *Niśisaṃcāra* f. 17v (4.20-21): *koṭivarsaṃ kārṇamōḥ*

*mahābalakulodbhava* | *śūlahastā sthītā devi sarvayogeśvarasvārī* || *tasmin kṣetre sthītā devi vajravṛkṣasamāsṛitā* | *kṣetrapālā mahākūḷyā* | *hetuko nāma nāmataḥ*. The origin myth of the cult of Hetukeśvara, Bahumāmsā (=Kārṇamōḥ/Cāmu-ṇḍā/Carcikā), and the other Mothers (Mātrās) at Koṭivarsa is narrated in chapter 171 of the early *Skandapurāṇa*-*Ambikākhanda*. Śiva promises the Mothers there that he will compose Tantras of the Mothers (*mātrāntarāni*) to guide their worship. The names of these reveal them to be the Yāmātantras; see SANDERSON 2001, pp. 6-7, fn. 4.

<sup>239</sup> Verse 30: *kṣemeśvarasyāyatanaṃ kṣemaṅkara grāvamayaṃ smarāreḥ* | *caḍāra yo mūrdhni dīptāyatośatākumbhakumbhaṃ vyadhāt tatra mahāśarāś ca*. In a passage describing Varendrī (3.1-27) in the *Rāmācarita*, completed in the time of Maṇanapāla (r. c. 1143-1161) but relating events that occurred during the reign of Rāmapāla (r. c. 1072-1126), Saṃdhyākarānandin devotes six verses to the deities of the region (3.2-7). There Kṣemeśvara appears with Hetviśvara or with Hetviśvara and Caṇḍeśvara as one of only two or three deities individualized by a personal name (3.2-5: *kurvadbhīḥ saṃ devena śrīhetuśvareṇa devena* | *caṇḍeśvarabhidhānena kila kṣemeśvara ca sanāthaiḥ* | ... *sambhāvitākaluṣabhāṇām*), the others mentioned being generic: the twelve Ādityas, the eleven Rudras, Skanda, Vināyaka, the Vasus, the Viśvadevas, and the Lokapālas. Hetviśvara here is surely identical with the Hetukeśvara of Koṭivarsa mentioned above. As a synonym form it was probably substituted for metrical convenience. It is not clear from the Sanskrit whether Saṃdhyākarānandin intended Caṇḍeśvara to be understood as an alias of Kṣemeśvara or as the name of third local Śiva. I am not aware at present of any external evidence that removes this doubt.

<sup>240</sup> Verse 32: ... *maṅgaṃ ca sarasīm ca* | *dhāma varāṅkeśvara itī śambhor apī śailam uttālam*.

<sup>241</sup> Verse 35: *ghaṇṭiśaṃ yaḥ svanagare nyadhāt kṣemāya dehinām* | *catuḥṣaṣṭyā ca mātrāṇaṃ paritāṇi tatra bhairavam*. This Ghaṇṭiśa is perhaps a double of the Mahāghaṇṭeśvara/Mahāghaṇṭa identified by the *Picumata* (3.77c-83) as the Bhairava of Virajā, modern Jaipur in the Cuttack District of Orissa, formerly the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings: *āgneye* (em.: *āgneyam* Cod.) *vīrajāyām tu trikūḷaṃ tatra cālikhet* | 78 *nānāvṛkṣasamākṛtāṃ ulūkaiś copāśobhitam* | *nandīn ca chogalam caiva kumbhakaraṇaṃ mahābalam* || 79 *hetukaṃ tatra deveṣaṃ śmaśānena \*samaṇaṃ nyaset* (conj.: *samabhyaset* Cod.) | *tatoparī likhec chaktīm karaṇaṃ ca mahādrumam* || 80 *tasyādhasāt likhet padmaṃ aṣṭapatraṃ sakarṇikam* | *kārṇikāyaṃ likhet devaṃ mahāghaṇṭam tu bhairavam* || 81 *kaṭideśe tathā caiva ghaṇṭāśaṣṭāvibhūṣitam* | *rudrāśṭakasaṃpetamā bhairavāḍkararūpiḥ* || 82 *rudrānāṃ bāhyato devi yoginīyaḥ ṣaṭ samālīkhet* | *yamaṅghaṇṭā karālā ca mahāghṛhā kharānāṇā* || 83 *karālī danturā caiva nāmāis caitāḥ prakṛtītiḥ* | *rudracakraṃ ca saṃveṣṭya ṣaḍdīkṣu ca kramāt sthītāḥ*; and 3.136cd (f. 8v2-3): *āgneye mahāghaṇṭeśvaraṃ likhet*; 30.25cd: *āgneyapankaje caiva mahāghaṇṭeśvaraṃ nyaset*. Ghaṇṭiśa- is evidently Ghaṇṭeśa- modified by Middle-Indic Sandhi (-a | ā + f + - > -ṭ-).

<sup>242</sup> Verse 38: *vajreśvarasya vikaṣāś campāyām ālayo 'śmabhiḥ* | *yena vyadhāyi navamaḥ kulācala ivocchṛitāḥ*. Campā was the capital of Āṅga in the eastern part of the



It is striking that most of these constructions and images are Śaiva or Śākta Śaiva and that not one is Buddhist. It is unlikely, however, that Nayapāla had rejected the Buddhist leanings so marked in this dynasty. For in addition to the evidence of his being called *paramasaugatah* there is the fact that Tārānātha

modern state of Bihar

Verse 40: *mahendrapālacareḍyā mahendrasaḍṛśodayā | yāḥ śailīm raḍabhm  
śailē sopānēna śahākarot*. Careḍ/Careikā is the fearsome emaciated goddess com-  
monly known as Cāmundā or Karnamotī; see here p. 231.

<sup>244</sup> Dharmāranya is at Gayā in southern Bihar. Its Matanga hermitage, its step-well of Matanga, and its temple of Matangeśvara are mentioned in *Agniparāṇa* 115.34–36.

<sup>245</sup> This is probably Gangāgāra/Gaṅgāgārasaṅgama, where the Ganges flows into the Bay of Bengal, listed in Śaiva sources as one of the Śaiva sacred power sites, e.g., in the list of the *siddhiheṭtrāṇi* given in the *Nīlakaṭṭhaśaṅkṣita*, f.42r1-3 (*Nīlakaṭṭhaśaṅkṣita* 129-33b).

<sup>246</sup> Verse 48: *khadam akāri rukmaracitam śrīvaidyaṇṭhaya tat*. Temples of Śiva Vaidyaṇṭha are found in various parts of the subcontinent. However, SIRCAR is no doubt correct in his annotation of this inscription (EI 39, p. 41) that this is the Vaidyaṇṭha of Deogarh (24°29' N, 86°42' E) in Jharkhand, this being revered as one of Śiva's twelve Jyotirlingas.

267 Perhaps at Attahāsa, now Lalpur (23°50' N, 87°49' E) in the Bhirhm District of Bengal. The name of the Saiva at this Saiva and Śākta sacred site is Mahānāda (e.g. *Matangapāramēśvara*, Vidyāpāda 20.83ab: *mahānādaya nādaya cittaśaśakhyam eva hi | simalāṁ simalāyoktāṁ śāhnām rudraya sūbhanām*); but Attahāsa being nearly a synonym as well as the name of the site may have been an alias.

<sup>200</sup> Verse 53cd: *nam ani palabhi cārabhir uttamaṁ pīṅgalāṁvāh*.

<sup>200</sup> In addition v. 34 records the founding of a hospital (*ārogyasāḥa*), and v. 57 gifts to brahmins.

reports that Nayapāla had a Buddhist preceptor in the person of Mahāvajrasana  
Punyākaragupta.<sup>250</sup>

*Buddhist Kings of Eastern India and their Commitment to Brahmanism*

Nor is it the case that royal devotion to the Buddha in eastern India during this period weakened in this region the traditional commitment of Indian rulers to the imposition and preservation of the caste-based brahmanical social order in which Śaivism was embedded. For in the Neulpur grant of the Bhauṃakara king Śubhākara I his grandfather Kṣemakara is described both as a Buddhist and as having ensured that the members of the caste-classes and disciplines observed their prescribed roles,<sup>251</sup> in his Teruṇḍia copper-plate inscription Śubhākara II, the grandson of Śubhākara I, is given the epithet *paramasaugataḥ* yet is also commended for having 'propagated the system of uncommingled caste-classes and disciplines proper to the [perfect] Kṛta Age following the unexcelled [brahmanical] scriptures';<sup>252</sup> the Pāla Dharmapāla is described in a grant of his son Devapāla both as a *paramasaugataḥ* and as taking measures to ensure that castes that erred were made to adhere to their respective duties, thereby discharging his father's debt to his deceased ancestors;<sup>253</sup> and Vigrahapāla III is

<sup>250</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 185, ll. 7-9: *nygal po 'dis rdo rje gdan pa chen por grags pa la mchod de [de dge bsnyen gyi dus kyī mishan po nya shri | rab tu byung ba'o] mishan po nya a ka ru ga pu tsa'o* (this king [Neyapāla] venerated [the teacher] called Mahāvajrasāna. During his time as a lay Buddhist, his name was Punyāśrī. His ordination name was Punyākaraṃagupta'; *HBI*, p. 305. In Tārānātha's text the name of the king is given as Neyapāla. But there can be no doubt that it is Neyapāla that is meant. For there is no other Pāla whose name 'Neyapāla' approximates, and Tārānātha's chronology of Neyapāla fits this king's reign. He relates that his reign began shortly before Dipankarārājñāna (Atiśa) left for Tibet, which is not far out, since Neyapāla came to the throne in approximately 1027 and Dipankarārājñāna set out for Tibet in 1038.

<sup>251</sup> *El* 15:1, 1.2: *svadharmāropitavarṇāśramah paramopāśoko ... śriḥṣaṃkāra-*  
*devah.*

<sup>222</sup> EI 28:36, ll. 8–10: *paramasaugata[h] ... niratīśaśāstrānusārapravartitakṛtāyugocitāsankīrṇavarṇāśramavyavasthah.* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1892, p. 255, l. 28.

gocitasankirṇavāṇarāmatrayasādhā. The Muṇḍir copper-plate grant of Devapāla, KIELHORN 1892: p.255, 1.28: **paramasauvagāla** paramasāvaram **paramabhāṭāra** mahārājāśhīrājāśhīrājāśhīrādharma-  
paladevopādānadhātāḥ **paramasauvagāḥ paramasēva** >> **paramabhāṭāra**ko  
mahārājāśhīrājā >> śrīmān devopaladeva >> and 11.8-9 (v.5): **śāstrān** bhāṭā  
calato 'nuskāya tārjān pratiṣṭhāpayātī svadharme | śrīdharmaplena suteno so  
'bhūt svagosthitānām anṛpā pīṭṛm' [Gopāla] became free of his debt to his  
ancestors in heaven through his son Dharmapāla, who, adhering to the teachings  
of the [brahmanical] Śāstras, after chastising those [members of] caste-classes  
that stray make them adhere to their prescribed duties'. Cf. Viśvadharmatara:  
2.65.55: **tārjān** paramatrayasūtu tu tathā kārṇa rīṣeṣaṭ' | **svadharmaprocayātān**  
**rājā svadharme** vinyojyēt The king must above all establish the caste-classes  
and disciplines with the proper distinctions between each. He should force those



described in his Āṃgācī copper-plate as the support of the four caste-classes.<sup>254</sup> Moreover, most of the surviving inscriptions of the Pālas, Candras, and Bhauma-Karas record grants which they made in favour of Brahmins. The Rāmpāl copper-plate grant of the Candra Śricandra strikingly exhibits the extent to which this double allegiance was unproblematic for such Buddhist donors. Following a practice widely attested in non-Buddhist donative inscriptions the gift of land is said to have been made over to its brahmin recipient after the pouring of water and the performance of a fire-sacrifice, in this case a *koṭihomaḥ*.<sup>255</sup> This is simply adapted to the donor's faith by dedicating the offerings to the Buddha rather than to Śiva or Viṣṇu.<sup>256</sup>

It seems, then, that royal patronage, reflecting no doubt the balance of allegiance in the wider population, ensured that Buddhism, for all the liberal support it received from the Pālas, was in no position to oust or diminish Śaivism, even in this region. The monasteries themselves reflect this symbiosis. The excavations at Somapura revealed an abundance of non-Buddhist deities, particularly Śiva, among the stone relief sculptures around the base of the central temple and the very numerous terracotta plaques that decorated its walls.<sup>257</sup>

who fall from their prescribed duties to carry them out'; and the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, HULTZSCH 1886, v.2ed: *māyadhāparipalanaikaniratoḥ śauryaśyāmad abhūd dughdamahāviivāśahāsamahā śrīdharmapāl nṛpaḥ* 'After him came King Dharmapāla. He was solely dedicated to the maintenance of the boundaries [between the caste-classes and disciplines]; he was the very abode of heroism [in war]; and the glory [of his fame] shone dazzlingly white like the ocean of milk'.

<sup>234</sup> EI 15:18, v. 13c: *cāturvarṇyasamāśrayah*.

<sup>253</sup> On the brahmanical *koṭīhomah* see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 382–383.

256 *ET* 12:18, 11.28–29: *vidhiḥ udakapūrvaṇaṁ kṛtvā koṭihomaṁ bhagavate bhagavantaṁ buddhabhāṭṭārakam uddīśya mātāpitṛ ātmanas ca puṇyasaṁbhi-rudhaye ...* ‘According to rule, after pouring water [upon the hand of the recipient] and after performing a *koṭihomaṁ* for the Lord and dedicating it to the Lord Buddha, to add to the merit and fame of my parents and myself ...’. Cf., e.g., *ET* 21:37 (the Śāktipur copper-plate of Lakṣmanasena, r. 1179–1206), lines 42–44: *vidhiḥ udakapūrvaṇaṁ bhagavantaṁ śrīnārāyaṇabhāṭṭārakam uddīśya mātāpitṛ ātmanas ca puṇyasaṁbhi-rudhaye*; *ET* 21:28 (the Pālanpur plates of Caulukya Bhīmadeva of Gujarat), A.D. 1063, 11.5–6: *maheśvaram abhyarcya mātāpitṛ ātmanas ca puṇyasaṁbhi-rudhaye ...* We find a similar case in the Aṅgikī grant of Viṅrahapāla III (*ET* 15:18, 11.35–40), but with the omission of the fire-sacrifice: *mātāpitṛ ātmanas ca puṇyasaṁbhi-rudhaye bhagavantaṁ buddha-bhāṭṭārakam uddīśya ...*

<sup>257</sup> DIKSHIT 1938, pp. 39, 41–42, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, and 58, commenting (p. 58) that brahmanical and Buddhist gods are equally and promiscuously represented on the terracotta plaques, and that among the brahmanical deities Śiva is the most frequently represented both on those and in the stone relief sculptures. For the forms of Śiva found here see his Plates XXXA–d, XXXA–e, XXXIX' (Linga), XLI d–2, and XLIV a and c, LVIIe (Mukhalinga), and LVIIIA (Uṃāhāṣṭvara).

Excavations of the Vikramaśīla monastery also uncovered a mix of Buddhist and predominantly Śaiva non-Buddhist images, the latter Śīva, Umāmaheśvara, Śīva and Pārvatī, Bhairava, Mahiśāsura-mardīnī, Pārvatī, Kāmāri, Cāmuṇḍā, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya, the Navagraha, Vṛsabha, Viṣṇu, and Sūrya.<sup>2518</sup>

*Joint Patronage of Buddhism and Śaivism in the Kingdoms of the Khmers, Chams, and Javanese*

Much the same phenomenon can be seen in Southeast Asia among the Khmers, the Chams, and the Javanese. Among the first the dominant religion was Saivism until the rise of the Theravāda that accompanied the decline of Angkor, and Tantric Buddhism, even when it enjoyed short periods of prominence through exceptionally determined royal patronage, found itself bound, as I have shown elsewhere, to accommodate its rival.<sup>259</sup>

In the kingdoms of the Chams, speakers of an Austronesian language who inhabited the plains along the coast of the South China Sea in what is now the central part of Vietnam, most of the inscriptions that have survived, in Sanskrit and Old Cham, ranging in time from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries, record acts of royal piety to Śiva or to goddesses identified with his consort. There are also a few from the ninth and tenth centuries that record the installation of Tantric Mahāyānist Lokeśvara, the construction of associated Vihāras, and land-grants to these. But as in eastern India we find in these that single donors supported both religions. Indeed the situation is more striking here because in all but one case each of these inscriptions records a person's practising both kinds of patronage, Buddhist and Śaiva.<sup>260</sup> Thus in the Bakul stele of 829 a Buddhist monk Śthavira Buddhānirvāṇa records that his father Śamanta has donated two Vihāras to the Buddha and two temples to Śiva.<sup>261</sup> The Dong Duong stele of 875 records that King Jayendavarman *alias* Lakṣmindra enshrined a Lakṣmīndralokeśvara and an associated Vihāra, yet the bulk of this long inscription is devoted to the praise of the Śiva Bhadrēśvara, who, we are told, is the source of this dynasty's power and prosperity.<sup>262</sup> The Nhan-bieu stele records that in 908 Pov

<sup>234</sup> *IAR* 1974–75, p. 7; 1975–76, p. 7; 1976–77, p. 11; 1977–78, p. 15; 1978–79, p. 43; and 1979–80, p. 13.

<sup>239</sup> On the co-existence of Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism in the Khmer kingdom of Angkor see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. pp. 421–435.

The exception is the An-thui stele of 902 (HUBER 1911, pp. 277–282), which records that the Buddhist monk Śihavira Nāgapuṣpa, a close associate of Bhadravarman II, installed a Pramuditakōśvara, and also that this king made a land-grant to the associated monastery (Pramuditakōśavaravihāra).

<sup>261</sup> ISCC, pp.237-241.

<sup>262</sup> FINOT 1904a, pp. 84–99.



This co-ordination of the two faiths is also evident in eastern Java. The 'Calcutta' stone inscription of Airlangga (c. 1010–1050), founder of the kingdom of Kahuripan, reports in its Old Javanese section that he was consecrated as the king in 1019/20 by Buddhist (Saugata), Śaiva (Māheśvara), and Mahābrahmanā dignitaries;<sup>203</sup> and much evidence of the simultaneous royal support of both Śaivism and Buddhism during the Singhasari and Majapahit periods (1222–1292, 1293–c. 1500) is present in the Old Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, also called *Deḍawarjana*, completed in 1365 by Mpu Prapañca during the reign of Hayām Wuruk of Majapahit, consecrated as Rājasaṅgara (1350–1389). We learn from this work that both Śaiva and Buddhist priests participated in periodic ceremonies for the benefit of the realm within the great courtyard inside the royal gate of the palace compound,<sup>204</sup> that the administrative heads

<sup>254</sup> FINOT 1904b, pp. 970–975

yan rake halu śrī lokaśva

<sup>206</sup> *Nāgārjunaśāstra* 8.3–4; PIGEAUD 1960–1963, vol. 4, p. 13. This event is referred to



to the support of both religions (81.1–2). Moreover, in the opening verse of his poem he pays homage to him as Śiva-Buddha in human form.<sup>268</sup>

Particularly striking are passages that report the deity-images or temples in which the souls of deceased kings had been installed. Ranggah Rājasa (r. 1222–1227), was enshrined in two temples, one Śaiva and the other Buddhist, in a single temple complex at Kangēnēngan,<sup>269</sup> and both Śaiva and Buddhist priests were seated beside king Rājasanagara when he sat in audience after worshipping here.<sup>270</sup> Anūṣapati (r. 1227–1248) was installed in a Śiva image at Kidal,<sup>271</sup> Viṣṇuvardhana (r. 1248–1268) in a Śiva image at Waleri and a Buddha image

at Jajaghu;<sup>272</sup> Kṛtanagara, r. 1268–1292, who is depicted as a devout initiated Tantric Buddhist and described after his death as “liberated in the world of Śiva-Buddha”,<sup>273</sup> and was installed in a Śiva-Buddha in “his own place” and, with his queen, Vajradevi, in a Buddhist image combining Vairocana and Locanā at Sagala.<sup>274</sup> Kṛtarājasa Jayavardhana (r. 1293–1309) was installed in a Buddha in the palace and a Śiva at Simpang,<sup>275</sup> and Jayanāgara (r. 1309–1326), who is described as having returned to the world of Viṣṇu,<sup>276</sup> in Viṣṇus in the royal compound, Shilā Pēṭak, and Bubāt, and in a Buddha in the form of Amoghāsiddhi in Sukhalila.<sup>277</sup> We also learn that there was a temple founded by Kṛtanagara at Jajawa, located at the foot of the sacred mountain Kukuwus, which was Śaiva but had a Buddhist pinnacle and contained a Śiva with an image of Akṣobhya above its crown, and that both Buddhists and Śaivas worshipped in it.<sup>278</sup> The in-

Marmanātha and Jayasmarā were adherents of the Saura sect (*sorapakṣa*), that is to say, Śūrya worshippers (see here p.58). The second and third charters do not specify the sects of the judges listed, so that the affiliations of Widyānātha, Śiwādhipa, one of the two Smarānāthas, and Mahānātha are unknown. It is striking that these judicial boards included no Vaiṣṇavas. The absence of a representative of the R̥ṣi sect, often grouped with those of the Śaivas and Buddhists as one of the three principal denominations in Java (e.g. *Arjunawijaya* 28.1c: *ṛṣi śaiva sogata*; *Kuṣṭharakṣa* 22.3c: *sang boddhasaiwārṣipakṣa*), is not surprising. For its followers were forest-dwelling hermits. The *Kuṣṭharakṣa* associates them with the worship of the [Pāṣupata] *pañcakusika*; see 23.1d: *lwi glar sogata pañcabuddha ṛṣi pañcakusika wiku śaivapañcaka*; and TEEUW and ROBSON 1981, p. 26. See also SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 374–376. The creation of the post of a Dharmādhyakṣa of the Buddhists and the inclusion of Buddhists on the judicial board were perhaps recent developments. For the Sarwadharma charter issued in 1269 during the reign of Kṛtanagara (PIGEAUD 1960–1963, vol. 1, pp. 99–103 [edition]; vol. 3, pp. 143–150) mentions only a Dharmādhyakṣa of the Śaivas (Ācārya Śiwanātha Tanutama: *mpungku dharmadhyakṣa ri kasewan dang ācārya śiwanātha mapañji tanutama*) together with a board of five other Ācāryas, Dharmadewa, Smarādhanā, Smaradewa, another Śiwanātha, and Agraja, not one of whom has an obviously Buddhist name (plate 2, recto, ll. 4–7).

<sup>268</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 1.1b: *śiwa budda sira sakalanīṣkalātmakā | sang śrīparuwatānātha* ‘The Lord of the Mountain, protector of the unprotected, the holy Śiva-Buddhu, who is both manifest (in physical form) and transcendent’. The Lord of the Mountain (*śrīparuwatānātha*) addressed in this verse has been understood, implausibly, as Śiva. I am entirely persuaded by the evidence presented by SUPOMO (1972; 1977, pp. 69–82) that it is the king that is intended in this and the opening verse of Mpu Tantular’s *Arjunawijaya*, where the Lord of the Mountain, in this case called Parwatarijadewa, is identified as the physical manifestation of the ultimate reality that is the Buddha (1.1b: *sang sāksāt paramārthabuddha*).

<sup>269</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 40.5d: *sang dinārmadwaya ri kagnangan śśewaboddeng usāna*. PIGEAUD translates *dinārmadwaya* as ‘a double dharmā (religious domain)’ (1960–1963, vol. 3, p. 46) and ROBSON (1995, p. 5) as ‘a double temple’. I do not see that the expression, which is equivalent to Skt. *dharmadwayam*, conveys anything more than the fact that there were two temples. Cf. SANTOSO 1975, p. 54.

<sup>270</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 36.2b: *para wiku śai sogata ārya nāligih iniring nirekhi tān adoh*.

<sup>271</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 41.1d: *praḍipa \*śiwaimbha* (KERN : *śimbha* PIGEAUD) *śobhita rikang sugdharmma ri kidal*.

<sup>272</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 41.4b: *ḍinarmma ta sire waleri śiwaimbha len sugatawimbha mungwing jajaghu*.

<sup>273</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 43.5c: *sang mokteng śiwabuddhaloka*. His commitment to Buddhism is indicated in 42.3c (*samaya len braṭa mapagēh apākṣa sogata*) and 43.2a (*bhakti ri pada śrī śakyasimhāsthiti*). As for his involvement in Tantric Buddhism we learn that he received Buddha consecration (*jīnābhīṣekah*) and was then given the name Jīnānavajreśvara (43.2b: *lumrā nāma jīnābhīṣekanira sang śrī jīnānavajreśwara*), that he devoted himself to Tantric worship following the otherwise unknown *Subhūttitantra* as his principal guide (43.3b: *mukyang tantra subhūti rakwa tinngēt kēmpēn*), and that he celebrated the esoteric Tantric ritual known as *gaṇacakra*m (43.3d), an indication that his Tantrism was that of the *Guhyasamāja* or one of the Yoginītantras. His initiation-name appears in the forms Jīnāśiṣāvajra and Vajrajīnāśiṣa in the Sanskrit inscription (KERN 1910) on the lotus-cushion of an image of himself in the form of the Mantrānaya deity Mahākṣobhya installed at Simpang in Surabaya in 1289 (vv. 12–13: *śrījīnāśiṣāvajrākṣya cīttaratnawibhāṣaṇah | jīnānaraśmivibuddhāṅga samboḍhi jīnānaparagah | subhaktya tam pratiṣṭhāpya svayam pūrvam pratiṣṭhitam | śmaśāne vuraenānnmi mahākṣobhyānūrpatah*; 19d: *vajrajīnāśiṣā + +*). All three forms of the name have the appearance of a Śaiva-Buddhist hybrid.

<sup>274</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 43.5d: *rinhe śthānanirān dinarmma śiwabuddhārca halp notama*; 43.6: *hyang weroana locanā lwiriran ekārca prakāśeng prajā*.

<sup>275</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 47.3b–d: *drāk pinratīṣṭa jīnawimbha sireng puri jro | antahpura ywa panlah rikanang sudarmma śaiwadpratiṣṭa sira teko muwah ri simpang*.

<sup>276</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 48.3a: *sang nṛpati mantuk ing haripada*.

<sup>277</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 48.3bcd: *śīghra sirān ḍinarmma ri ḍalm purāreccanira wiṣṇuwimbha parama | len ri śilā plak muwang i bubāt padā pratima wiṣṇumūrti anupama ring sukhilā tan sugatawimbha śobhitan amoghāsiddhi sakala*. His installation in Viṣṇus is without parallel among the Singhasari-Majapahit kings; see PIGEAUD 1960–1963, vol. 4, p. 141. However, the kings of Kaḍiri, the principal court of East Java through the twelfth century to c. 1222, were devotees of this god. Most were described as his embodiments (DE CASPARIS and MABBETT 1992, p. 327) and his incarnations are central to the literary epics (*kakawin*) of the Kaḍiri court (HALL 2005, pp. 2 and 8).

<sup>278</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 56.1b–2c: *kirtti śrī kṛtanāgara prabhū yuyut nareśwara sira |*



imate co-existence of the two traditions is also apparent in the intertextuality of religious texts in Java, as has been demonstrated for the Śaiva *Jñānasiddhānta* and the Tantric Buddhist *Sang hyang Kamahāyānika* and *Kalpabuddha*.<sup>279</sup> It is also seen in the great frequency with which the Mahāyāna-Buddhist concept of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) is incorporated in Javanese Śaiva sources through the inclusion of the terms *śūnya* and *śūnyatā* among those used to characterize the highest reality,<sup>280</sup> in the readiness of the redactors of Śaiva liturgies to supplement sets of Śaiva elements with Buddhist elements when they needed to make up a total for the sake of the numerical correspondence,<sup>281</sup> and in the fact that the *Kuṅjarakarna* of the Buddhist Mpu Ḍaṣun the supreme Buddhist deity Vairo-

*lakuw rakwa sirangadigita sarira tan hana waneh etanyang duwaya saiva bodha sang amija ngini tatata || chinang candi ri sor kalsiwan apucak kabodhan i rukur muang ri jro siwawimbha sobhita halpripaprimita || aksobhyapratime rukur mmakuta tan hanalyantikā 'It was a temple (lirih) of Lord Kṛtānagara, the king's great-grandfather. He himself established it. Hence both Śaivas and Buddhists have from the beginning always conducted the worship. The sign is that the temple is Śaiva in its lower section and Buddhist above. Inside is a beautiful Śiva image and above an image of Akṣobhya as (an?) its crown. Of there is no doubt'. On the significance of the Śaiva-Buddhist fusion seen in Kṛtānagara in both inscriptions and literary works see HUNTER 2007.*

<sup>279</sup> See SOEADJIO 1971, pp. 12–19 and 55–57 for evidence of this intertextuality; also for a general treatment of the co-existence of the two traditions in Java ZOETMULDER in STÖHR and ZOETMULDER 1968, pp. 262–314.

<sup>280</sup> See, e.g., *Jñānasiddhānta* 3.2–3: *nadaś ca liyate śūnye śūnyam eva tu jñāte | śūnyā chūnyataram vāpi atyantāśūnyalakṣaṇam || śūnyā sakalatattvaṃ ca sākṣmaṇi sakalaniskalam | param nishalaśūnyam ca ūrdhvāyūrdhātisūnyakam; 8.3: śūnyā śabdamayā prokṭā sākṣmaṇi cittaṃ mayā bhavet | param cittaśūnyatā cittaṃ tyaktvāśūnyatā; Gaṇapatiṭṭha 2: śūnyā nishāśaṇṇa samyag ātmatrayam iti smṛtam | trilīṅgaṃ tri-rūpaṇam aḥātṛya eva śūnyatā; 22: hrdayastham sadāśivaṃ hrdayānti guḥyāyām | śūnyatāśūnyā cintyate param kaitalyam ucyate; Mahāyāna 62: śūnyakṣaṇasāraṃ hrdayam vimalam śubham | hrdayānti padam śūnyam param kaitalyam ucyate; 83: rātriś ca prakṛit jñeyā ravis ca puruṣaś tathā | dyutis ca vā mahādevaś śūnyam ca paramaś śubh. I consider it highly probable that these Sanskrit works are Javanese creations. Some of the verses can be found in Indian Śaiva sources: *Wyhaspatitattva* 53 and *Gaṇapatiṭṭha* 3 < *Rauravāsūtrasaṃgraha* 7.5; *Jñānasiddhānta* 19.5 and *Gaṇapatiṭṭha* 43 < *Kṛpā* 1.23; *Wyhaspatitattva* 7–10 < *Sūryambhūtasūtrasaṃgraha* 4.3–6. But these are surprisingly few, and the works contain several doctrinal elements that are alien to known Indian traditions. Moreover, the deviations from strict Sanskrit usage found in them seem to me not to be characteristic of the registers of the language seen in Indian Śaiva scriptural texts. The same is true of the frequent deviations from the correct form of the Amṛtābh in the second and fourth Pūdas: e.g. *Gaṇapatiṭṭha* 1d, 16d, 48d, 49b, 49d, 54b, 54d, 55b, 59b, 59d, *Mahāyāna* 11d, 37b, 38d, 42b, 61b, 73b, 74b, 78b, 78d, 80d; *Wyhaspatitattva* 3b, 6b, 6d, 12b, 20d, 23b, 24b, 25b, 63b, 72d. This is extremely rare in Indian Śaiva texts.*

<sup>281</sup> See the example of this cited in SANDERSON 2005a, p. 377.

cana is made to equate the divine pentads of the Śaiva and (Pāsupata) R̥ṣi sects with the five Tathāgatas, teaching this in the context of an assertion that he is the ultimate reality that assumes the form both of the Buddha and of Śiva.<sup>282</sup> and that it is because the followers of the three sects fail to understand this undifferentiated ground that they dispute with each other for the pre-eminence of their respective Gods.<sup>283</sup> The same idea is seen in the works of the Buddhist Mpu Tantular. In his *Arjunawijaya* he has the priest of a Buddhist temple-complex (*boddhadharma*) explain to Arjuna that its central deity Vairocana is one with Sadāśiva, that its four ancillary deities, the directional Tathāgatas Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi, are one with Rudra, Brahmā, Mahādeva, and Viṣṇu respectively,<sup>284</sup> that there is no distinction between the Buddha and Śiva,<sup>285</sup> and that therefore it is the king's duty to support all three sects, the Buddhists, the Śaivas, and the R̥ṣis.<sup>286</sup> Later, in his *Sutasoma*, Mpu Tantular states that the Buddha and Śiva are “different but one” (*bhinneka tunggal ika*), the famous formula that has been adopted as its official national motto by the modern state of Indonesia, as two manifestations of the ultimate reality of the former.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>282</sup> *Kuṅjarakarna* 23.1d: *livir glar sogata pañcabuddha r̥ṣi pañcakusika wiku saiva pañcaka* ‘As the Buddhists have the five Buddhas, the R̥ṣis have the pentad of Kuṣika and the Śaivas a pentad of their own’; 23.4bcd: *ngwang wairocana buddha-mūrti śivamūrti pinakaguru ning jagat kabeh | nāham donku ingaran bhāṭāra guru koprakasita lēka ring sarāt kabeh | anghing byāpaka ring samastabhūwanāku juga warawikṣeḍadevatā* ‘I, Vairocana, am embodied both as the Buddha and as Śiva, and am accepted as Guru by all. Therefore it is I that am Bhāṭāra Guru, famed among all men, and it is I, as the highest deity, that pervade all the worlds.’

<sup>283</sup> *Kuṅjarakarna* 22.3.

<sup>284</sup> *Arjunawijaya* 26.4–27.1.

<sup>285</sup> *Arjunawijaya* 27.2abc: *ndah kanthanya hañ tan hana bheda sang hyang | hyang buddha rakwa kalawan siwa rājadeva | kilih samēka sira sang pinakṣeḍidharma*.

<sup>286</sup> *Arjunawijaya* 30.1–2.

<sup>287</sup> *Sutasoma* 139.5: *hyang buddha tan pahi lawan siwarājadeva | r̥ṣiñekadhātu winuwus warabuddhawiswa | bhinneki rakwa ring apa n hēna parwanōn | mangka ng jinatwa kalawan siwatattwa tunggal | bhinneka tunggal ika tan hana dharma mangrwa*. This has been translated by SUPOMO (1977, p. 7) as follows: ‘The god Buddha is not different from Siwa, the lord of the gods. The excellent Buddha, the all-pervading, is said to be two different dhātus. Yet although these two dhātus are different, how is it possible to differentiate between them at a glance? In the same manner, the reality that is Jina and the reality that is Śiva are one; they are different yet they are one, for there is no duality in the *dharma*’. Commenting on ‘the two different dhātus’ mentioned in this verse (fn. 9) SUPOMO take them to be the two Maṇḍalas, the Garbhadhātu and the Vajradhātu of the *Mahāvairocanaśāstra* and *Sarvatahāgatatattvasaṃgraha* respectively. This reading is an error in my view. It does not accord with context, which requires that the two be the realities of the Buddha (*jinatwa*) and Śiva (*siwatattwa*) respectively. As I understand it, the passage is saying that the Lord Buddha is both the Buddha



# THE DEVELOPMENT OF TANTRIC BUDDHISM THROUGH THE ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION OF ŚAIVA AND ŚĀKTA ŚAIVA MODELS

## The Parallel Repertoire of Rituals

Now, this co-existence of Buddhism and Śaivism under royal patronage was surely facilitated by the fact that the form of Buddhism adopted and developed was one that had equipped itself not only with a pantheon of ordered sets of deities that permitted such subsumptive equations but also with a repertoire of Tantric ceremonies that paralleled that of the Śaivas and indeed had modelled itself upon it, offering initiation by introduction before a Maṇḍala in which the central deity of the cult and its retinue of divine emanations have been installed, and a system of regular worship animated by the principle of identification with the deity of initiation (*devatāhaṃkāraḥ*, *devatāgaruḥ*) through the use of Mantras, Mudrās, visualization, and fire-sacrifice (*homāḥ*); and this was presented not only as a new and more powerful means of attaining Buddha-hood but also, as in the Śaiva case, as enabling the production of supernatural effects (*siddhiḥ*) such as the averting of danger (*sāntiḥ*), the harming of enemies (*abhicāraḥ*), and the control of the rain (*varṣāpaṇam* and *atīrṣṭidhāraṇam*), through symbolically appropriate inflections of the constituents of these procedures. The latter is particularly important from the point of view of Buddhism's relations with its royal patrons, since such rituals enabled it to match the Śaivas by promising kings more tangible benefits than the mere accumulation of merit through the support of the Buddha, his teaching, and the Saṅgha. We have seen an example of such ritual for the protection of the state in Tāranātha's report of the programme of Tantric fire-sacrifices performed at Vikramaśīla under the direction of Buddhajñāna during the reign of Dharmapāla (r. c. 775–812) to ensure the longevity of the Pāla dynasty;<sup>288</sup> we have another example in the case of Kīrtipañḍita, a Mahāyāna-Buddhist scholar and Tantric expert who according to the Vat Sithor stele inscription became the Guru of the Khmer king Jayavarman V (r. 968–1001) and was engaged by him to perform frequent fire-sacrifices in the palace for the protection of the kingdom;<sup>289</sup> and the Javanese Prapañca tells us that the purpose of king Kṛtanagara's adherence to Tantric Buddhism was

to increase his people's prosperity and the stability of his realm, and that its reward was the undiminished and undivided sovereignty (*ekachaktra*) of his descendants.<sup>290</sup>

The adoption of the Śaiva practice of Maṇḍala initiation created a further line of access to patronage and was propagated vigorously, as it was by the Śaivas, as a means of the recruiting of social élites both in the subcontinent and beyond.<sup>291</sup> Among the Buddhist Tantras at least two major texts teach rituals of initiation, or consecration (*abhiṣekaḥ*) as it is called in these sources, in which it is kings in particular and royalty in general that are envisaged as the primary initiands. These are the *Mañjuśrīyamūlakaḥ* and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*.<sup>292</sup> In the former this is so for the principal Kalpa of the text. In the latter it is characteristic of initiation into the secondary Maṇḍalas of the four Great Kings and the ten Guardians of the Directions taught in the *Uttarakalpa*. The sections dealing with these Maṇḍalas specify the king as the principal consecrand, teach little or no required subsequent practice, and promise benefits that apply principally to him, namely the protection of himself and his kingdom and the destruction of the kingdoms of his enemies. The monarch is not mentioned in the treatments of initiation given in the *Mahāvairocanaśāmbodhi* and *Sarvathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, the two great Tantras that were translated into Chinese in the early eighth century to form the basis of the Way of Mantras there and in the Japanese Shingon and Tendai sects. But the ninth-century Indian authority Ānandagarbha brings this aspect of the religion to the fore in his *Sarvavajrodaya*, an influential manual that sets out detailed practical guidance for the performance of the initiation ritual taught in the second of those texts but draws heavily on the more detailed treatment in the first. For when he teaches the preparation of the Maṇḍala he prescribes a range of sizes beginning with that appropriate for the initiation of the monarch. In his case each of the sides should measure one hundred or fifty cubits (about 40 and 20 metres), in the case of a feudatory (*sāmantaḥ*) or major feudatory (*mahāsāmantaḥ*) fifty or twenty-five, in the case of a wealthy merchant (*śreṣṭhi*) or international trader (*sārthavāhaḥ*) twenty-five or half of that, and in the case of an ordinary practitioner (*sādhakaḥ*)

and Śiva, whereas SUPOMO's reading makes Mpu Tantular espouse a doctrine of absolute equality between the two religions within a reality beyond both. This is intrinsically implausible in a Buddhist work. My reading makes his view exactly that expressed by Mpu Dusun in 23.4bcd of the *Kuṭjarakarṇa* cited and translated above: "I, Vairocana, am embodied both as the Buddha and as Śiva".

<sup>288</sup> See here p.93.

<sup>289</sup> K. 111, CÉDES 1937–1966, vol. 6, pp. 195–211, v. 36. See SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 427–428.

<sup>290</sup> *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 42.3d: *tumrāṅga ring usāna magḥakna vṛddhinaḥ jagat*; 43.3c: *pūjā yoga samādī pinirihana amrīḥ sthityaning rāt kabeh*; 43.4cd: *darmameṣṭhāpāḥ ing jinabrata mahotsāheng prayogakriya nāhan hetuni tusni tusnira padaikacatra dewaprabhu*.

<sup>291</sup> On the adoption by the Buddhists of the practice of royal initiation and its propagation in India, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan, and Southeast Asia see SANDERSON forthcoming a.

<sup>292</sup> *Mañjuśrīyamūlakaḥ*, p. 32, ll. 21, 23, and 28–30; *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, sections 47b, 48a, and 49a.



twelve or six (about 5 or 2.5 metres).<sup>283</sup>

The Mantranaya also followed the example of the Śaivas by devising Tantric ceremonies for patrons in the public domain: for the consecration (*pratisthā*) of temple images (*pratimā*), paintings of deities on cloth (*paṭaḥ*), manuscripts of sacred texts (*pustakam*), monasteries (*vihārah*), shrines (*gandhakuṭi*), Cāityas, reservoirs (*puṣkariṇyādi*), gardens and the like (*āramādi*). It also adapted the Śaiva procedures for funerary initiation to produce a Tantric Buddhist funeral

rite (*antyeṣṭiḥ*)<sup>284</sup> for initiates,<sup>285</sup> in which, as in the Śaiva case (*antyeṣṭikā*), the officiant draws the consciousness (*jñānam*) of the deceased back into the corpse from the other world, takes it again through the initiatory process of consecration and the rest (*abhiṣekādi*) before a Maṇḍala,<sup>286</sup> and then sends it out through the top of the head to ascend to liberation or a pure Buddha-field such as Sukhāvātī.<sup>287</sup>

reading my remark that I had not yet seen the manuscript very kindly acquired and sent me scans of it

<sup>283</sup> Sarvaśāstrasāra, f. 295v-296r: *evam kṛtvā pūrcasevāṃ maṇḍalam ālīkhet. ... rājā hastalātāṃ pañcāśaddhastāṃ vā sāmāntamahāsamāntānāṃ pañcāśat pañcaviṃśatīhastāṃ vā śreṣṭhinaḥ sūtrahastāṃ vā pañcaviṃśatīm tadardham vā sādhanānāṃ dvādaśahastāṃ śaḍdhaṣṭāṃ vā.*

<sup>284</sup> The details of this wide repertoire of the rituals that a Tantric Buddhist officiant (Vajracārya) was called on to perform are set out in a number of manuals that are closely comparable to the Paddhatis of the Śaivas, notably the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapāṭikā* of Kuladatta (TANEMURA 2004b), the *Vajracārya* of the great Abhayākara Gupta of Vikramaśīla (1064-1125 according to the chronological tables of Sum pa mkhan po Yes shes dpal 'byer [1704-1788]; works dated in the twenty-fifth, thirtieth, and thirty-seventh years of the reign of Rāmapāla [c. 1072-1126]; *Vajracārya* written before the first of these; see BÜHNEMANN and TACHIKAWA 1991, pp. xiv-xvi), which adds procedures for the consecration of reservoirs, gardens, and the like (A, f. 2r1 in the list of topics: *pratimāpratisthā* | *puṣkariṇyādipratisthā* | *āramādipratisthā*), and the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* of Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Jagaddarpaṇa, which incorporates much of the *Vajracārya* but adds some new material, notably a final section on the funeral ritual for a deceased Vajracārya (*nirvṛtjavajracāryāntyeṣṭikāpāradhī*; B, ff. 240v7-244v4), which is an unacknowledged incorporation of the whole of the *Mṛtasugatiniyoga* of Pandita Śūnyasamādhivajra (less its two colophonic verses). One other text giving a Tantric funeral procedure survives in Sanskrit, the *Antasthittikarmoddhāra*, at the end (ff. 15r8-15v11) of the Guhyasamāja-based *Maṇḍalopāyikā* of Maṇḍalācārya Padmaśrimitra of the Khāsarpaṇa monastery (f. 15v10-11: *samāpta ca maṇḍalopāyikā* | *kṛtvā ityāṃ khāsarpaṇyamāṇḍalācāryapadmaśrimitraya*). On these texts and the incorporation of the *Mṛtasugatiniyoga* by Jagaddarpaṇa see TANEMURA 2004a and 2007. On the Śaiva prototype of funerary initiation see SANDERSON 1995a, pp. 31-33 and, for its adaptation, the *Mṛtoddhāradhāra*, in which a simulacrum is substituted for the body of the deceased, 2005b, pp. 264-267. A fourteenth-century Paddhati for this *Mṛtoddhāradhāra* survives in ff. 88v1-91r1 of the *Garupatīkā* of the Kashmirian Rājānaka Śītikanṭha. In an earlier publication (SANDERSON 2007a, p. 395, fn. 549) I proposed that this work, then known to me only indirectly from the *Rājānakaśāstrapāraṇā* of his patrilineal descendant Rājānaka Ananda, who reports that it was composed at the request of [king] Saṃgrāmasimha, might be preserved in a Śāradā manuscript listed with this title as belonging to the Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Central Library of the Banaras Hindu University (MS CN. 4115). I can now report that this is indeed a manuscript of that work and, as far as I am aware, its *codex unicus*. The name of the author is confirmed on f. 1v11-12: *karmānupāśrīṣṭe karmācārya upayoginīm* | *śītikanṭhasaṃgrāmasimha vādhātā garupatīkām*, and the claim that he wrote at the request of Saṃgrāmasimha is confirmed on f. 13v15-14r1: *asādhak kulaṅgīyena śrīsaṃgrāmanamahābhūjā* | *abhyarthitānām dīkṣāṅgham ayaṃ paddhatidādhāt*. I am very grateful in this matter to my former pupil Christopher Wallin, who after

<sup>285</sup> According to Padmaśrimitra the ritual is to be done for Ācāryas and others who have practised the meditation-rite of Vajrasattva or some other Tantric deity; f. 15r8, v. 1: *mṛtācāryādisattva vā vajrasattvādiyogināḥ* | *vakṣyāṃ cāntasthite-ḥ* | *kṛtyaṃ teṣāṃ mārganidarśanāt*. It may be done for a man or a woman; f. 15r10-11, v. 9ab: *puruṣatanu-ḥ* | *nirṛpyātha triya vā samyag eva hi*. Śūnyasamādhivajra does not specify those for whom it is intended. But Jagaddarpaṇa adds a preamble to Śūnyasamādhivajra's text in which he restricts it to Vajracāryas; f. 240v7: *adhunā parinirvṛtjavajracāryasārasyaṇṭeṣṭicidhīr ucyate*.

<sup>286</sup> *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, f. 15r14, v. 21c-22b: *tato vijñānam ānya mantramudrānuyogataḥ* | *ankuṣyadyathā praveṣyātha dadyāt śahādikāṃ punaḥ*. Then having drawn down the consciousness [of the deceased] by means of the Mantras and Mudrās, and having caused it to enter [the corpse] by means of the Mudrās beginning with the Hook, he should again give it the consecrations and the rest; *Mṛtasugatiniyoga*, f. 2r3-4: *tato nayet suraktavarṇaṃ* (conj. [Tib. *mdog dmar gsal ba*]) : *suraktamsvadhām* | *paralokasamsthātam jñānam dharmamukhākṛti yad vā* | *nivṛtānīkṣampadīpanīdham* | *ānītaṃ taj jñānam mṛtasya hrdaye pravṛṣayēt śīrasā* | *Then he should draw down the consciousness [of the deceased] that is in the world beyond, [visualizing it as] bright red in colour or with the shape of the letter A (the dharmamukham), resembling the unflickering flame of a lamp in a windless place. When that consciousness is nigh he should cause it to enter the heart of the deceased through [the top of] his head'. According to the *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, the Ācārya should trace and worship the Maṇḍala, offer a Bali, and then place the corpse at its east gate with its head to the south; f. 15r12-13, vv. 12-13b: *same viśuddhabhūbhāge gomayenopalpite* | *maṇḍalam catusraṃ vai kārayet tatra saṃkīrtet* | *śuklam pītam rājā vāpi tatra padma* | *dalāṣṭakam* (conj. : *dalābhakam* Cod.); f. 15r13, vv. 18c-19: *uttarābhimukho mantri saṃpīṣṭiṃ maṇḍalam baliṃ* | *dattvārgḥadīkām caiva saṃsādhya maṇḍalam kṛti* | *sthāpayen maṇḍaladvāri prācyaṃ tu dakṣiṇāmukham*.*

<sup>287</sup> In the *Maṇḍalopāyikā*'s prescription the Ācārya visualizes that the purified consciousness of the deceased is drawn out of the corpse by a multitude of rejoicing deities filling the sky and placed by them in a world such as Sukhāvātī inhabited by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; f. 15v2-3: *28 sambuddhabodhisattvādi-virṇīcīvarṇadakaḥ* | *siddhagandharvabhujagāḥ surair vidyādharaḥ api* | *29 pūrṇaṃ nabhastalam vikṣya* | *nīpatatpūspavṛṣṭikam* (nīpatat em. : *nīpatataḥ* Cod.) | *tad dīryadundubhidhāvanamuraja* | *mardaladhvani* (mardala conj. : *murdata* Cod.) | *30 uchatavenuvīpādimadharasvārobhāṣaṇam* | *tadānandasuvisṭārāt kurvadbhir nṛtyam ujjaḥvalam* | *31 tatrākṛya ca vijñānam sukhāvātīyādīkāvaye* | *sthāpīteṃ lokadhātāu hi buddhabuddhātmajāśraye*. The procedure of the *Mṛtasugatiniyoga* differs here; f. 3r1-3: *tad anu* | *\*kuśāgre* (em. [Tib. *ku sha'i rse mo la*]) : *kuśāgraṃ* Cod.) | *\*mantri* (em. [Tib. *sngags pa*]) : *mantrai* Cod.) | *ribhārya tikṣṇaiḥ* | *\*śūcikaṃ vajram* (corr. : *śūcikaṃ vajram* Cod.) | *nīkṣīpya vajraṃ* | *ribhārya dīkṣayāt tad dahanasamkāśam* | *tad anu samāhitacitta-ḥ* | *tad dīryā vinyastatīṣṭhuraṃ jñānam* | *saṃcodayeḥ* | *\*jaladbhir vajragair mātutoddhātaiḥ*







Mantra-procedures taught in the Śaiva and Gāruḍa Tantras<sup>302</sup> will be effective if applied by Buddhists in the Maṇḍala of these converted deities.<sup>303</sup> Thus the Buddhists envisaged by this text have the whole array of Śaiva Tantras at their disposal; and this position, so surprising from the conventional Buddhist standpoint, is justified by the claim that what people have come to refer to as the Śaiva, Gāruḍa, and indeed Vaiṣṇava Tantras are in fact Buddhist, since they were first taught by Mañjuśrī in this "vast Kalpa", that is to say, in the *Mañjuśrīyāmūlakalpa* or, more probably, in a hypothetical proto-text of which the actual text was thought to be an abbreviated redaction.<sup>304</sup>

I have taught this Mantra [of Śiva] which together with the trident Muḍra destroys all demons, out of my desire to benefit living beings. Those living on the earth will say that its ancient Kalpa, that I taught in former times, was taught by Śiva. [But] the various excellent extensive [Kalpas] in the Śaiva Tantras are in fact my teachings.

...  
The extensive Kalpas that have been related in the Vaiṣṇava Tantras were taught by Mañjughoṣa for living beings who could only be trained by [this] device.<sup>305</sup>

...  
All the extensive Kalpas taught in the Gāruḍa Tantras were taught by me in order to benefit living beings.<sup>306</sup>

...  
It was I that first taught, in this vast Kalpa, everything that the inhabitants of earth without exception refer to as the teaching of Śiva. It was only later that others taught in the various texts [considered to be taught by him] the Kalpamantras of the wise Śiva Tumburu the Trader.<sup>307</sup>

SANDLESON 2005a, p. 373–374, fn. 76).

<sup>302</sup> On the Śaiva Gāruḍatantras see here p. 46 and SLOUEN 2007.

<sup>303</sup> *Mañjuśrīyāmūlakalpa* 47.98c–99b, 102ab, 103ab: *yācanti śaivatantrā 'emim ye tantrā cāpi gāruḍe | brahmāyair gñamukhyaiś ca ... pūjita kalparistārā viṣṇurudrasaśaśaiḥ | ... tasmin maṇḍale 'yogya (con) : yajña Ed.) siddhyantika na saṁdayah* 'All the extensive Kalpas that have been taught in this Śaivatantra and, moreover, in the Gāruḍa, and worshipped by Brahmā and others, by the leading Rishis, ... by Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Indra, will be mastered if applied in this Maṇḍala. Of this there is no doubt.

<sup>304</sup> *Mañjuśrīyāmūlakalpa* 2.32–34b: *esa mantrā mayā prokṭaḥ sattvānām hitāhmayā | śālamudrasamayuktā sarvabhūtatānāśah | 33 yan mayā kathitaṁ pūrvam kalpam aya purāṇam | śaivam iti vakṣyante sattu bhūtalāśaśaiḥ | 34 tividhā gñanavistārāḥ śaivatantrā mayoditāḥ.*

<sup>305</sup> 2.31c–32b: *ya eva vaiṣṇave tantrā kathitāḥ kalparistārāḥ | upāyavainayasaṁvānām mañjughoṣa bhūyātāḥ.*

<sup>306</sup> 2.37: *yācantaḥ gāruḍe tantrā kathitāḥ kalparistārāḥ | te mayāviditāḥ sarve sattvānām hitāśānāt.*

<sup>307</sup> 47.53–54: *sarvair śaivam iti khyātāḥ sarvair bhūtalāśaśaiḥ | mayāiva nigaditāḥ*

If this is so, then the text has disarmed criticism that the Mantra-procedures that are presented as properly Buddhist in this text bear a suspiciously close resemblance to the non-Buddhist in their liturgical morphology. For if the Omniscient has revealed all forms of religion in consideration of the differing mental dispositions of his manifold audiences, then there is no reason at all why he should not in his wisdom have taught Tantric practice for Buddhists as well as for outsiders. The strict division between the Buddhist and the non-Buddhist has dissolved within a higher Buddhist intertextual unity. Indeed this very argument is deployed by \*Buddhaguhya in the late eighth century in his commentary on the passage of the *Mahāvairocanaśāmbodhi* cited above.<sup>308</sup> He argues that what those who attack this Tantra for containing elements proper to the non-Buddhist Tantras fail to realize is that those Tantras too were taught by the omniscient Buddha.<sup>309</sup> So it follows that there nothing inherently un-Buddhist in

*pūrvam kalpe-m asmin sarvate || 54 paścād anyo janaḥ prāhuḥ kalpamantrām prīṭhaḥ prīṭhaḥ | \*tumburoḥ (corr. : tumburoḥ Ed.) sārthavāśya tryambakasya tu \*dhimataḥ (corr. : dhimataḥ Ed.).*

<sup>308</sup> \*Buddhaguhya's teaching in the Kriyā- and Caryā- divisions of the Tantras is said by Gzhon nu dpal (*Blue Annals*, p. 351) to have been pre-eminent in Tibet during the first transmission of Esoteric Buddhism, from the latter half of the eighth century; and this is confirmed by the Tibetan inventory of Buddhist texts in translation compiled in the Ldan dkar palace in the early ninth century. Its small section of Tantras (*gsang sngags kyi rgyud*: entries 316–328) consists of nine texts of this class together with commentaries on the last four, of which three are ascribed to our author, those on the *Vairocanaśāmbodhi*, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tōjorājakaḥ*, and the *Dhyānotāra*. The entry on the fourth commentary, that on the *Subāhu-paripreṣā*, lacks the name of its author, but it is at least probable that it was from the same hand, since no other Indian commentary on this text is known. The loss of the Sanskrit originals of these and other works of early exegesis has left us without the means of confirming that his name, rendered Sangs rgyas gsang ba in Tibetan, was indeed Buddhaguhya, as modern scholarship has generally assumed. The evidence is inconclusive. For when the name appears in Tibetan sources in transcription rather than translation we find sometimes Buddhaguhya and sometimes Buddhagupta. We see the latter in the Ldan dkar inventory (LALOU 1953, p. 326: *slob dpon Bu dha gu pta*) and both forms are found in the colophons of the translations of his works in the Tenjur (HODGE 1994, p. 70). The Tenjur contains a letter (Tūh. 4194) in which \*Buddhaguhya addresses the Tibetan emperor Khri srong lde btsan, who ruled from c. 756 until c. 797 (DOTSON 2007) and officially adopted Buddhism c. 779. From it we learn that he was invited to Tibet by Khri srong lde btsan but declined the invitation on the grounds of failing strength, sending instead his commentary on the *Mahāvairocanaśāmbodhi*.

<sup>309</sup> Nam par snang mdzad ngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud chen po'i 'grel, f. 158v4–6: *de la gsang ba'i bdag po ma 'ongs pa'i dus na sems can blo zhan pa zhes pa nas | de dag gis sngon sems can rnam la phan par dgongs pai phyir | 'di thams cad bstan par rab tu mi shes so zhes pa'i bar du lha rnam kyi kha dog gang yin pa dkyil 'khor yang de yin par gsungs pa | dbang po dang me'i dkyil 'khor la sogs pa ni | jig rten pa'i rgyud la yod kyi | jig rten las 'das pa'i rgyud | bya ba'i rgyud dang spyod pa'i rgyud kun las mi 'byung bas na | 'di ni sangs rgyas gsungs*



Buddhist Tantric practice, however closely it may resemble the Śaiva; and Buddhists, therefore, once they have understood this fact, may devote themselves with full confidence to the rituals of the *Mahāvairocanaḥśaṃbodhi*.

*The Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha and the First Inroads of Śākta Śaivism: Possession, Goddesses, and the Sacralization of Sex*

After the time of this text Tantric Buddhism did not, as one might expect, rest content with the degree of assimilation of Śaivism it had already achieved,

pa ma yin no zhes zer te | gang 'jig rten gyi | rgyud rnam kyang | sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das thams cad mkhyen pas sems can rnam so so'i dad pa dang rjes su mthun par mi shes pa zhes pa'i phyir ro zhes pa ste 'The statement that begins "O [Vajrapāṇi,] Lord of the Yakṣas, in time to come [there will arise] people of inferior understanding" refers to people who do not understand all that [the Buddha] has taught for the welfare of past beings. [The Buddha] has taught [here] that the colour of the Maṇḍalas should be the same as those of [their presiding] deities. But some will say that the Maṇḍalas of Iśvara and of fire and the rest are found in the mundane Tantras [of the outsiders] and not at all in the supramundane Tantras [of Buddhism, that is to say,] in the Kriyātantras or Caryātantras, and that therefore they were not taught by the Buddha, [doing so] because they do not understand that the Blessed omniscient Buddha, in conformity with the various faiths of living beings, also taught [these] mundane Tantras'. This doctrine that all teaching is the Buddha's, that he has taught variously in the appearance of the Buddha, Śiva, and others, is set out in the *Mahāvairocanaḥśaṃbodhi* in a passage that survives in Sanskrit through its citation in the *Nāmaṇḍarā-rthāvalokīni*, Vilāsavajra's eighth-century commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, on verse 42, f. 31v1-32r2: *tathā cōktaṃ śrīvairocanaḥśaṃbodhīlāntre | bhagavantas lathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhāḥ sarvajñajñānaṃ prāpya tat sarvajñajñānaṃ sarvasattvabhūyō vibhāṇya nānānayair nānābhīprāyair nānāpyānyayair dharmaṃ deśayanti sma | keṣāṃ cit śrāvakayānanayam keṣāṃ cit pratyekabuddhayaṇanayam keṣāṃ cin mahāyānanayam keṣāṃ cit pañcābhījñajñānanayam keṣāṃ cid devopapattaye keṣāṃ cin manūṣyopapattaye yāvan mahoragayaksarakṣāsāsuragandharvagaruḍakinnarādyupapattaye dharmaṃ deśayanti sma | tatra ke cit sattuō buddhavaṇeyikā buddharūpeṇa paśyanti. ke cid chrāvakarūpeṇa ke cid pratyekabuddharūpeṇa ke cid bodhisattvarūpeṇa ke cin mahāvairarūpeṇa ke cid brahmarūpeṇa ke cin nārāyaṇarūpeṇa paśyanti sma | ke cid vaiśrāvaṇarūpeṇa yāvan mahoragamanuṣyāmanuṣyarūpeṇa paśyanti sma | svakṣavakair vacanodāhāraṇanayair viivdheryāpātha-*c'm* yvavasthīlām | tac ca sarvajñajñānam ekarasaṃ yad uta tathātūvinirmukhtirasam ity āha mahāvairocana iti. This is closely related to and probably derives from the *vaineyadharmaopadeśaḥ*, the eighth *Prakarṇa* of the second *Niryūha* of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (pp. 268-269). The *Saddharmaṇḍarika* likewise teaches (pp. 251-252) that Avalokiteśvara assumes all kinds of forms, including that of Śiva, in order to teach living beings in consideration of their particular dispositions. STRICKMANN informs us (1996, p. 440, n. 28) that this passage is present in the Chinese translation completed by Dharmarakṣa in A.D. 286. It is probable that it is the model of the passage in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. The doctrine that the non-Buddhist teachers are a device (*upāyā*) of the Buddha is also taught in the fourth chapter of the *Bodhisattvagaocaropāyavaiśayavikurvaṇanirdesaśūtra*, which survives in two Chinese translations, the first by Guṇabhadra in the fifth century; see ZIMMERMANN 2000, p. 18.*

working only to infuse the new liturgical system with ever more clearly Buddhist purpose and meaning. On the contrary, with the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, the next major Tantra, which was considered to be the foundational text of the Yogatantra class, which follows the Caryātantras in the ascending hierarchy of the classification of the Mantranaya, and was in existence in a shorter version by the end of the seventh century and expanded in the course of the eighth,<sup>310</sup> we find the beginning of a process of assimilation of Śākta Śaiva language, practices, iconography, and concepts that would become ever more comprehensive throughout the rest of the Mantranaya's creativity. Here we find for the first time the requirement that candidates enter a state of possession (*āveśaḥ*) at the time of their initiation. This feature, which is altogether alien to antecedent Buddhism, is the hallmark of initiation in the Śaiva Kaula systems, setting them apart from all others.<sup>311</sup> The Vajracārya puts the candidate into a state of possession, has

<sup>310</sup> See MATSUNAGA 1978, pp. xvii-xvii.

<sup>311</sup> See, e.g., *Tantrāloka* 29.186c-220; *Tantrāloka* introducing 29.201c-202b: *samāveśaḥ sarvasāstreṣu avigānenoktaḥ*; SANDERSON 1985, pp. 200-202; 1986, p. 169 and fn. 2; and WALLIS 2008. The centrality of possession in the Śākta Śaiva domain may derive from its Kāpālika antecedents, since the Saiddhāntika Śaivas report that the Kāpālikas [of the Atimārga] defined liberation as arising from a state of possession (*āveśaḥ*) by the qualities of the deity, analogous to the state of one who is possessed by a Bhūta (*bhūtāviśṭapuruṣavat* [*Nareśvaraparikṣāprakāśa* on 1.61]); see, e.g., *Pauṣkarabhāṣya*, p. 232: *svayam āviśyate siddhāḥ puruṣas tu grahair iva | lītham caiva tu kāpālās tat sāmyaṃ muktīm ācīre*; and *Saivaparibhāṣā*, p. 156, ll. 22-24: *kāpālikāḥ samāveśena sāmyam upagacchanti | tathā hi yathā grahāḥ puruṣam āviśanti tathesvaragurūṃ muktaye āviśanti*. They are distinguished in this context from the two other Atimārgic traditions, those of the Pāñcārthika Pāsupatas, who defined liberation as the transference of the state of equality with Śiva in the manner in which one lamp is lit from another (*sāmyasamkrāntivādāḥ*), and the Lākulas, who defined it as the arising of this state (*sāmyopattivādāḥ*); see SANDERSON 2006, pp. 179-181. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that possession by the deity as the goal of practice is a marked feature of the *Picumata* and *Yoginsamādāra* of the Vidyāpīṭha, texts in which the perpetuation within the Mantramārga of the Kāpālika tradition of the Atimārga is particularly clear. Both describe the goal of their Kāpālika-style asceticism as the entry of the deity propitiated into the person of the propitiator. *Picumata* f. 101v1-3 (2.114c-117): *duṣcarāṃ devagandharvāṃ tvaṃ ciraṃ mahāvratam || 115 varāṃ vareṣitaṃ vatsa udyatam tu brahmi me | yadi tuṣṭo 'si bhagavan praviṣa mama vīgrham || 116 vaktarṃ prasārayasveti praviṣya bhagavān prabhūḥ | hrdaye bhairava devo guhyakā tu gale sthitāḥ || 117 mātaro hy anga-m-āgeṣu yoginyo sandhiṣu sthitāḥ | śakinyo romakūṣeṣu pūtanādyā tathāiva ca* [Bhairava says:] You have [now] completed the observance of [the Kāpālika] Mahāvratā, which is hard [even] for the gods and Gandharvas. Choose whatever boon you desire. Tell me without hesitation [what it is]. [The Sādhaka replies:] If you are pleased, O Lord, enter my body. Telling him to open his mouth the Lord God Bhairava enters his heart. [His principal Śaktis,] the [four] Guhyakās occupy his neck, the Mother goddesses his limbs, the Yoginis his joints, and the Śākinis, Pūtānās, and others the pores of his skin'; cf. f. 335r1-2 (87.126c-128b): *bhairavasya mahāmudrā mudrāśānidhyakārīkā || 127 prayuktā tu yadā mudrā lekṣaṇena varānane | bhāvātmakavidhānena sadyo*



him; cast a flower on to the Maṇḍala to determine from the section on which it falls the Mantra-deity from which he will obtain Siddhi, and then, while he is still in this state, removes his blindfold to reveal the Maṇḍala. He then consecrates him with scented water from a Mantra-empowered vase, places a Vajra in his hand, and gives him his initiation-name (*vajradāma*).<sup>312</sup> The immediate effects of the possession are described as follows:<sup>313</sup>

As soon as he becomes possessed supernatural knowledge arises [in him]. Through this knowledge he understands the thoughts of others, he knows all matters past, future and present; his heart becomes firm in the teachings of the Tathāgatas; all his sufferings cease; he is free from all dangers; no being can kill him; all the Tathāgatas enter-and-empower him; all Siddhis approach him; unprecedented joys arise [in him], causing spontaneous delight, pleasure, and happiness. In some these joys give rise to meditation-states, in some to [the mastery of] Dhāraṇis, in some to the fulfilment of every hope, and in some to the state of identity with all the Tathāgatas.

*mantra vijrmbhati* || 128 *karoti sādhanakāraṇaṁ japaḍhyānasavarjitā* 'O fair-faced one, the Mahāmudrā of Bhairava draws every Mudrā nigh. When it is employed correctly with full subjective immersion [the deity of the] Mantra immediately becomes manifest. [The Mudrā] brings about possession in the Sādhanā without [need of] Mantra-repetition or visualization'. The *Yoginīśāstra* requires anyone who has gone through its initiation ceremony and then received consecration (*abhiṣeka*) to adopt one of three forms of ascetic observance in order to gain mastery over the Vidyā (*vidyāratam*): the Bhairavavratā, the Cāmūḍāvratā, or the Trisaktikulavratā, the observance of the sixty-three families [of the Mothers], which it also calls the Kāpālavratā, i.e. the Kāpālīka. At the end of the observance, we are told, the Mothers will enter his body: *dehīyaṁ tu evaṁ tasya ghoram kāpālārāpiṇam* || 841 *īre kapālamukhaṁ tīrṇāśvībhūṣitam* | *kare kurnau tathā pādau asthikhaṇḍair vūḥkṛtam* || 842 *vāme kapālam khaṇḍaṅgam tathā vai dakeṣe kare* | *īmālāne vīcaren maunī triṣaṣṭi divasāni tu* || 843 *vratānte tu varārohe śāre mātaro dhruvam* | *tīdānte devadevādī dādānte siddhim uttamām* [New] I shall teach [you] a second observance, the grim Kāpālavratā. He should have a skull-crown on his head and be adorned with a garland of heads. His hands, ears, and feet should be adorned with pieces of bone. In his left hand he should hold a skull-bowl and in his right a skull-staff. He should wander in silence in a cremation ground for sixty-three days. It is certain that at the end of this observance the Mothers, O fair-headed empress of the gods, enter his body and bestow the highest Siddhi'.

<sup>312</sup> *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṁgraha*, sections 224-234.

<sup>313</sup> *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṁgraha*, section 226: *āṣṭamātreṇa dīyaṁ jñānam utpadyate* | *tena jñāne paracittāny avabuddhāni sarvakāryāni cāntīkārāṇaṁ varāmanāni janāni hṛdayaṁ cāya dṛḍhībhavati sarvatathāgatāśāne sarva-dukḥkhāni cāya prapañcanti sarvabhayaṁvigeṣṭa ca bhavaty avadhyak sarva-sattvasya sarvatathāgatāś cādhīgīhanti sarvasādhānyā cāyābhīmukhībhavanti apārāṇi cāyādhāraṇaḥsarvatiprīṭhikāni sukḥāni utpadyante* | *tath sukḥāni kṣaṇāni cit samādhyo nīpadyante kṣaṇāni cit dhāraṇyāḥ kṣaṇāni cit sarvasā-paripūṣṇo yāvat kṣaṇāni cit sarvatathāgatātattvam api nīpadyate iti*.

and, after the bindfold has been removed.<sup>314</sup>

As soon as he sees the Great Maṇḍala he is entered-and-empowered by all the Tathāgatas and Vajrasattva dwells in his heart. He sees various visions of orbs of light and miraculous transformations. Because he has been entered-and-empowered by all the Tathāgatas sometimes the Lord Vajradhara or the Buddha appears to him in his true form. From that time forth he attains all his goals, every desire of his mind, all Siddhis, up to the state of Vajradhara or the Tathāgatas.

Ānandagarbha gives a detailed account of the means by which the candidate is put into this state of possession in the *Sarvavajrodya*, his manual on the rites of initiation into the Maṇḍala of this Tantra, and makes it clear that entering this state is, as in the Kaula parallel, an absolute requirement. If the candidate fails to enter it by the standard means, the Vajracārya is to perform a rite to remove the sins that are assumed to be the cause, and if the candidate still fails to enter the possession state, he may not proceed further.<sup>315</sup>

If possession does not occur, because [the candidate] has committed [too] many sins, he should proceed to destroy those sins by repeatedly making the Sin-Destruction Mudrā. With concentrated mind he should kindle a fire with sticks of sweet wood and burn all his sins by casting into it oblations of sesame seeds with the Mantra OM SARVAPĀDAHANAVAJRĀYĀ SVĀHĀ. He should make a simulacrum of those sins with black sesame seeds on the palm of his right hand and visualizing the [wrathful] syllable HUM in the centre he should offer it into the fire with his index finger and thumb. Then he should imagine that the sin is being incinerated in his body by Vajras wrapped in flames emerging from the fire-pit. [The candidate] will definitely become possessed. If possession does not occur even so, then he must not give him the consecration.<sup>316</sup>

<sup>314</sup> *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṁgraha*, section 231: *mahāmaṇḍale ca dṛṣṭamāre sarvatathāgatāir adhiṣṭhyate vajrasattvaś cāya hṛdaye tiṣṭhati* | *nānāyāni ca rāsmi-maṇḍaladarśanādini prāṭihārīyavikurvītāni paśyati* | *sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhitatvāt kadā cid bhagvān mahāvajradharāḥ svarūpeṇa darśanam dadāti tathāgato veti* | *tathā prabhṛti sarvārthāḥ sarvamanobhirucitakāryāni sarvasiddhir yāvat vajradharatvam api tathāgatātattvam veti*.

<sup>315</sup> *Sarvavajrodya*, f. 61r4-v1 (exposures 009a and 005b): *atha pāpabahutvād āveśo na bhavati punaḥ pāpasphoṭanamudrāyā tasya punaḥ punaḥ pāpāni sphoṭayāni* | *saṁvidbhir madhuraḥ agniṁ prajvālyā susamāhitāḥ* | *nirāhet sarva-pāpāni tilahomena tasya tu* || OM SARVAPĀDAHANAVAJRĀYĀ SVĀHĀ || *dakṣiṇa-hastatale kṛṣṇatilaḥ pāpapratiṭkṛtṁ kṛtvā hūṁkāramadhyam vicintya tarjanyā anguṣṭhābhyām hūmaṁ kuryāt* | *tato homakurḍān nirgataḥ jvalāmālākulair vajraḥ tasya śāre pāpam dahyamānam cintayen nīyatam āviśati* | *evam api yasyāveśo na bhavati tasyābhiṣekam na kuryāt iti*.

<sup>316</sup> Cf. *Tantrāloka* 29.29.210-211b: *athavā kasyācin naivam āveśas tad dahet imam* | *bahir antaś cokṣasaktiḥ pated iṭham sa bhūtaḥ* || *yasya tu evam api syāt na tam atropalacat tyajet* 'Or, if some rare person does not become possessed by this



It is certain that the possession intended is not nominal or figurative. For Ānandagarbha tells us that once the Vajracārya is sure that the candidate is in this state he should use him as an oracle:<sup>317</sup>

Then when the Ācārya has ascertained that [the candidate] is possessed he should form the Samyamudrā of Vajrasattva and address him with [the Mantras] HE VAJRASATTVA HE VAJRARATNA HE VAJRADHARMA HE VAJRAKARMA AND NṚTYA SATTVA NṚTYA VAJRA [DANCE, O SATTVA; DANCE, O VAJRA]. If he is indeed possessed he will adopt the Vajrasattvamudrā. Then the Ācārya should show the Mudrā of the Vajra Fist. By this means all the deities beginning with Vajrasattva make themselves present [in him]. Then he should ask him something that he wishes [to ascertain], with the following [procedure]. He should visualize a Vajra on the tongue of the possessed and say SPEAK, O VAJRA. [The candidate] then tells him everything [that he wishes to know].<sup>318</sup>

means he should visualize him being burned both internally and externally by the Power [of the Mantra] taught above. By this means he will fall to the ground. If a person does not achieve [the state of possession] even by this means then in this [system] he must cast him aside like a stone'. Falling to the ground is commonly mentioned in Kaula texts as the consequence of initiatory possession; see, e.g., *Matasāra* f. 39v2-3: *yāvanmātram vihvālam ca vedhayet pāsapañjaram | pāsastobhāt pataty āśu bhūtale nātra saṁśayaḥ; Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṅka 4, bhairavānāvidhau bhūmikāpātalaḥ, f. 191v (v. 105ab): śaktikṣobhāt tadā yogi viddho patati bhūtale; Devīyārdrasatīkā f. 16v: 197 tatsaṇāt patate bhūmau chinamūla iva drumah; Chumāsāṁketaparakṣā, first surviving verse: [tadddrūpāmahodayat | bhūmau sampatīlāḥ kṣiprāc chinamūla iva drumah; Urmikaulārṇava f. 9r3: \*pañcāvasthāgataḥ (em.: pañcāvasthāgataḥ Cod.) sāḥśāt sa viddhāḥ patate bhuvī; f. 19v5-6 (2.230-231): pracalanti \*mahāpādā (corr.: mahāpādām Cod.) āveśam tasya jāyate [ānando hy udbhavaḥ kampo nidrā ghūrmis tu pañcam | || tattvaviddhasya devēḥ pañcāvasthā bhavanti hi | sa viddhāḥ patate bhūmau vajropatād ivācala-ḥ]; the Kaula Vṛddhasavacchanda ff. 17v24-18r2, Ed. 10.156-17v (using this MS alone): jñātūv śrīśaktisāṁkrāmāṁ sodeśavāsanānuṣaṇ | \*vedāyen (em.: vedāyen Cod. Ed.) nātra sandeham pāṭayet paravatyāni || \*saḥśrīśāṁkrāmāyogena (Cod.: cakrāt saḥśrāmāyogena Ed.) \*chinamūla (Ed.: chinamūlam Cod.) ita drumah || patanti dehinaḥ sarve; 10.25ab, Ed. 10.25ab: sa viddhāḥ patate bhūmau \*vajrāghātād ivācalaḥ (em.: vajrāghātām ivācalaḥ Cod. Ed.).*

<sup>317</sup> *Sarvavajrodaya*, f. 61v2-3: *tataḥ samāviṣṭam jñātūvācāryeṇa HE VAJRASATTVA HE VAJRARATNA HE VAJRADHARMA HE VAJRAKARMA iti vajrasattvasamayamudrāḥ baddhvocārāṇyam | punar NṚTYA SATTVA NṚTYA VAJRA iti | sa ced āviṣṭaḥ śrīvajrasattvamudrāḥ badhnyāt | tadācāryeṇa \*vajramuṣṭimudropadarśanīyā (nityā corr.: nityā Cod.) | evaṁ sarve śrīvajrasattvādayaḥ \*sānnidhyāḥ (corr.: sānnidhyāḥ Cod.) kalpāyanti | tato 'bhīpretaṣṭaḥ pṛched anena | jīhūdyāt \*tasyāviṣṭasya (em.: tasyāviṣṭasyāviṣṭasya Cod.) vajraṁ vicintya brāhī vajra iti utkṛtavyam | tataḥ sarvaṁ vadati.*

<sup>318</sup> The inducing of possession in persons so that they may be used as oracles, is not restricted in Tantric Buddhism to the context of initiation. It is also seen as an independent procedure in which the medium is a young boy or girl. We find it in the Tantra *Subāhupariprācā* in a section partly translated and partly paraphrased from the Chinese by STRICKMANN (1996, pp. 222-226), a work that was translated

into Chinese (T. 895) by Śubhākarasīṃha in 726 and was in the hands of the Chinese monk Wu-xing in 674 (HODGE 2003, p. 18). We also see it in the *Su ji li yan mo xi shou luo dian shuo jia lu luo a wei she fa* 'The quickly effective method of possession (dveśaḥ) taught by the god Maheśvara' (T. 1277). This short scriptural text, whose translation from the Sanskrit is assigned to Bukong (Amoghavajra) and to a date between 746 and 774, claims in its preamble that it is a teaching given by Śiva (Maheśvara) to Nāriyaṇa on Mt. Gandhamādāna in answer to the latter's request. It sets forth a procedure to induce the messenger (Dūta) of Maheśvara to possess a young girl aged seven or eight so that he can then use her while she is in this state to answer any questions he has concerning the future. He should have her fast by eating nothing but pure foods for three or seven days. Then on an auspicious day he bathes her, anoints her with unguents, gives her clean clothes, puts camphor in her mouth, sits facing East, smears a low wooden platform with sandalwood-paste, has the girl stand on it, scatters flowers in front of her, sets up a vessel of Argha water, takes incense, empowers it seven times with the Mahāmudrāmantra, lights the incense and fumigates the girl's hands with it, takes a red flower, empowers it, places it in her hands, and passes his hands over her face. Then, with his hand forming a Mudrā he touches and thus empowers five parts of his own body and then with the same Mudrā touches the girl's head, her mouth, his heart, and his navel visualizing in these the symbols of fire, water, earth, and wind respectively. He then empowers his two legs, visualizes Garuḍa, puts the armour-Mantra on the girl's body, and visualizes himself as Maheśvara, three-eyed, with the digit of the moon on his crown, blue-faced, eighteen-armed, and brandishing various weapons, with a snake as his sacred thread, wearing the bleeding hide of an elephant. He then protects her with recitation, empowers flowers, incense, and Argha water with the Mahāmudrāmantra, and seals the ten directions. Then facing the girl the Sādhaka recites the Mantra of Maheśvara's Dūta. The girl will start to tremble. This reveals to him that the Dūta has entered her. He then snaps his fingers and recites the Mantra. If she does not fall into the possession trance he should recite a further Mantra to incite the Dūta to enter her. By this means the result is certain. He then interrogates her about good and bad in the future and is told whatever he wishes to know. This account is based on an oral translation of the Chinese text very kindly provided by my colleague NOTAKE Miyako (Leipzig). A French translation of part of the text, without the visualizations, is given in *Hobōgin*, p. 7.

Here too the model is Śaiva, as the preamble and content of this text suggest. Putting children into a possession-state is already present in the earliest literature of the Śaiva Mantramārga, where we find the use of Kṣatriya and brahmin boys for this purpose; see *Nisvāsātattvasaṁhitā* f. 82v1-2 (*Nisvāsaguhya* 10.116-117b): *athāveśam kartukā[maḥ] + + kṣatracakumārakam | snāpayitvā tam ekaṁ tu śuddhadehaḥ saṁśakam | pūrvamukhaḥ sthāpayitvā hy udakenāveśayet; f. 112v6 (*Nisvāsaguhya* 17.30): athāveśam kartukāmo brāhmapakumārā[kam + u]dakena snāpya tenaiva tādāyānam āveśayed vācayā mokṣaḥ. The ritual also appears in narrative literature. The *Kāthāsarīsāgara* (70.55-63) tells a story of an ash-smearing ascetic, a pupil of Śuddhakīrti, who has mastered many Mantras and claims to have done this with a Kṣatriya boy (56cd: *subhalaśaṅgam āśadya kaṁcī kṣatracakumārakam*), who in his trance revealed the whereabouts of many miraculous herbs and elixirs (57: *sa kumārāḥ samāviṣṭaḥ pṛṣṭo nānāvidhāni me | siddhaṁadhiraśakṣetrāny udīryedam athābravit*), and, finally, a palace of the Nāgas in a pollen-covered pond in the jungles of the Vindhya mountains, where, with the help of Viras, he could obtain a sword that would make him lord of the Siddhas. The procedure is referred to there as a *svasthāveśaḥ* 'a [rite of caus-*



Nor is possession restricted in the *Sarvatathāgatasamgraha* to the context of initiation. The term *āveśaḥ* is used repeatedly in the text to denote the state that

ing oracular possession in one who is healthy (*svasthaḥ*) [in body and mind] (70.56ab: so 'ham kādāpy akṛavāṃ svasthāveśam prasangataḥ), and it appears under this name frequently in the *Vidyāpīṭha*, where in accordance with that literature's Śākta character the medium is, as in the *Su ji li yan mo xi shou lu dian shuo jia lu luo a wei she fa*, a young girl. We see this in *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Śaṭka* 2, f. 19v-3 (6.54c-59): *kanyāṃ śulakṣaṇopetām dhātārādām manoharām* || 55 *śvalakṣmīṃ atah kṛtvā ratnā eva mahēśvārī* | *datte dhāpam tato vidyām āvartayet* > *sādhakāveśaḥ* || 56 *tāvad āvartayet glāṇīm yāvad āveśam āpnuyat* | *divyabhaumāntarikṣādyam* (conj. : *ādyā* Cod.) *āveśam kurute kṣaṇāt* || 57 *hastārdham ca kṛtīm tyaktvā tiṣṭhate vīkṛtānāṃ* | *tadā mahālipīlītais tarpayet suratandite* || 58 *prahvaś ca prapaṇa bhūtvā pṛcchet sādhakasattamah* | *sadāśivādīkṣityante yāvan manasi rocate* || 59 *tat sarvaṃ kathayet devī yad anyam vā hrđi sthitam* | *evam pṛṣṭvā rīsarjeta prapaṇya paramēśvārī* Then, at night, O Mahēśvārī, the lord among Sādhakas should adorn a pretty young girl endowed with excellent characteristics and wearing freshly washed clothes, fumigate her with incense, and then begin to repeat [the *Vidyā* of] Ghorā. He should continue to repeat it until she becomes possessed. Immediately [her understanding] penetrates all that is in the heavens, on the earth, and in the sky. With her face contorted she hovers half a cubit above the ground. Then, O honoured by the gods, he should gratify her with offerings of wine and meat. He should then bow low before her and put his questions to her. O goddess, she will tell him all that he wishes to know in the whole universe, from the level of *Sadāśiva* down to Earth, and other matters that are concealed in his heart. When he has interrogated her in this way, O *Paramēśvārī*, he should prostrate himself in veneration and allow her to leave; and *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Śaṭka* 3, f. 99v-6 (14.70-76): *atha sādhaṃyitvā vācike* > *svasthāveśanam uttamam* | *tadā kanyāṃ samānyā sarvalakṣaṇalakṣitām* || 71 *āveśam tām pratiṣṭhāya sugupte varamandire* | *raktakṣūmbāradharāṇi raktasrakṣaṇaśobhitām* || 72 *subhāsanasthām tām kuryāt palaliparipūrītām* | *ayucchinnaṃ dāhē dhāpam vidyām āvartayet tataḥ* || 73 *tadā sū kampate kanyā glāṇīṃte hasate punaḥ* | *glāṇīṃ pravādyet tatra mahāmantra* > *vidhau* (conj. : *vīkai* Cod.) *sthitāḥ* || 74 *tato āveśate tūṃgāṃ devadevī kṛtadārī* | *tyaktvā bhūmīm tiṣṭhate sū tadā* > *sa* (corr. : *sā* Cod.) *prapaṇāḥ pūmān* || 75 *tarpayet paramēśānīm nānābhūyapaharāt* | *tadā sādhakamukhyāya vadate* > *manasēpitam* (corr. : *manasēpitam* Cod.) || 76 *bhūtam bhāryam bhāryayā ca kālātṛayam atākṣilam* | *brahmāṇḍoparagā vartā* > *sādhakāya vadaty asu* > 'If he desires to accomplish the supreme rite of *svasthāveśaḥ* he should bring a young girl who possesses all the necessary characteristics and set her on a seat in an excellent building that is well concealed. Her seat should be of fine quality. She should be dressed in a dark red garment; her neck should be adorned with a garland of red flowers; and her mouth should be filled with wine and meat. He should burn incense without interruption and then repeat the *Vidyā* again and again. Then the girl begins to tremble, swoon, and laugh. Established in the procedure of the Great Mantra he should ring his bell. The emaciated Goddess will immediately enter [the girl], who will then rise and hover above the ground. The Sādhaṃ should then prostrate himself before her and gratify the Goddess with the offering of a various Balis. Then [speaking through the girl] she will tell that excellent Sādhaṃ what-ever he desires to know. She will explain to him [anything he wishes to ascertain in] the three times, past, present, and future, all events within the entire sphere of Brahmin'.

the practitioner must induce in himself in order to accomplish both his Siddhis and his enlightenment, typically in the compound *vajrāveśaḥ* 'possession by Vajra'. For example:

For by means of possession by [Vajra]sattva enlightenment will quickly be attained.<sup>219</sup>

...  
When he has given rise to *āveśaḥ* in this way whatever form he meditates on as his own will automatically become Buddha in form.<sup>220</sup>

...  
When *vajrāveśaḥ* has arisen he should visualize the water as an embodiment of the Vajra. Quickly achieving success he will be able to walk on [that] water.<sup>221</sup>

...  
Once he has generated *vajrāveśaḥ*, if with concentrated mind he makes a slight clap with his palms in the *Vajrāṅjali* [gesture] he can subject to his control even a mountain.<sup>222</sup>

...  
Likewise, by virtue of the practice of *āveśaḥ*, if he stretches out [his hands in] the Vajra gesture and strikes together the tips of his fingers he can kill a hundred families.<sup>223</sup>

Two other features of this seminal text evidence the influence of Śākta Śaivism. The first is the fact that after teaching the *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* in its opening section it goes on to teach the *Vajraguhyamaṇḍala*, in which the five *Tathāgatas* are replaced by goddesses: *Vairocana* at the centre by *Vajradhātviśvārī* and, around her in the four directions, *Akṣobhya* by *Vajravajriṇī*, *Ratnasambhava* by *Ratnavajriṇī*, *Amitāyus* by *Dharmavajriṇī*, and *Amogha-siddhi* by *Karmavajriṇī*.<sup>224</sup> In the preamble *Vajrapāṇi* makes the following joyful declaration (*udāna*):<sup>225</sup>

Ah, how benevolent is the Bodhicitta to all beings! For the Buddhas take on even female form to accord with [the expectations of] their disciples (*vinayaśāśat*).

<sup>219</sup> *Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha*, section 167: *yat sattvāveśayogād dhi kṣipraṃ bodhir avāpyata iti*.

<sup>220</sup> Section 238: *tathāivāveśam utpādyā yad rūpam svayam ātmanah* | > *bhāvayen* (em. : *bhāvayan* Ed.) *bhavate tat tu buddharūpam api trayam*.

<sup>221</sup> Section 238: *vajrāveśe samutpanne vajrabimbamayaṃ jalam* | *bhāvayet kṣiprasiddhas tu jalasyopari cankramet*.

<sup>222</sup> Section 247: *vajrāveśam samutpādyā tālam dadyāt samāhitāḥ* | *vajrāṅjalitalaiḥ sūksmaṃ parvato pi vaśam nayet*.

<sup>223</sup> Section 247: *tathāivāveśavidhinā vajrabandhe* (conj. : *bandha* Ed.) *prasārite* | *agrāṅgulisamāpṛkṣyād dhanat kulāśatam kṣaṇāt*.

<sup>224</sup> *Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha*, sections 319-327.

<sup>225</sup> *Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha*, section 322: *aho hi bodhicittasya sarvasattva-hitaipitā* | *yad vinayaśāśat tīrṣṭrīrūpam api kurvate*.



The second is the incorporation of sexual intercourse into the activities of worship as a higher form of practice. This element is not conspicuous because it is not mentioned in the treatments of the principal Maṇḍalas taught in the text and it was therefore easily pushed out of view when this text was propagated in China and thence in Japan. It is present nonetheless as an esoteric teaching reiterated many times throughout the text in the form of passages teaching that the pleasure of sexual union and indeed other sensual delights are a means both of worshipping the Buddha and of attaining Siddhis when combined with meditation on one's Buddha nature. For example:

1: If after generating a firm intention to attain enlightenment he meditates on himself as the Buddha and worships himself [as the Buddha] with the pleasure of sexual intercourse he will obtain the joys of the Buddha himself.

...  
2: He will quickly become equal to Vajrasattva if he presents the pleasures of embracing the body of any [woman] as offerings to the Buddhas. He will become equal to Vajraratna if he presents the pleasures of grasping [her] hair in intensely felt love as offerings to the Buddhas. He will become equal to Vajradharma if he presents the exquisite pleasures of kissing while immersed in intense sensual delight as offerings to the Buddhas. He will become the equal of Vajrakarma if during his worship he completely offers up to the Buddhas the pleasures of the union of the two sex organs.

...  
3: He will attain success in the Maṇḍala by means of the union of the two sex organs while meditating with fully concentrated mind on the meditation state that embodies all things.

...  
4: Non-detachment from sensual pleasures: this is the greatest and purest rule of discipline [for an initiate] in the family of the Tathāgatas. It may not be transgressed even by the Buddhas.

...  
5: There is no religious duty purer than [the exercise of] sexual desire, the bestower of all joys. This, which brings about Siddhi, is the highest duty in the family of the Tathāgatas.

...  
6: During worship with the four prostrations he will quickly attain Siddhi if when exhausted from the exertion of love-making he offers [to the Buddhas] the pleasure which that love-making aroused.

...  
7: He will attain Siddhi if while meditating with in-turned mind on the purity of lust he worships the Buddhas with the drops of his semen.<sup>326</sup>

<sup>326</sup> I Section 288: *bodhicittadṛḥpāpādā buddho 'ham iti cintayan | ratyā tu pūja-*

*The Guhyasamāja: copulating deities, sexual initiation rites, and the sacralization of impurity*

In the next phase of the Mantranaya, seen in the *Guhyasamāja*, also a product of the eighth century, this esoteric eroticism has moved to the foreground; and this is apparent from the very beginning of the text. For the place where the Buddha is said to have been residing at the time that he revealed this Tantra, which was expected to be stated in the preamble (*nīdānavākya*) of any scripture claiming to be Buddhist, is not one of the familiar sites of revelation such as Rājagṛha, Dhānyakāṭaka, or, as in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, the Akaṣṭha heaven, but the vaginas of the goddesses Locanā, Māmaki, Pāṇḍaravāsīnī, and Tārā, that is to say, a timeless, unlocated bliss.<sup>327</sup>

[I aver that] I once heard the following [teaching]. The Venerable Lord was residing in the vaginas of the Vajra-women of the body, speech, and mind of all the Tathāgatas ...

and this surprising relocation, no doubt provocatively shocking in its time, became standard in the subsequent literature of the Mantranaya, both in texts closely related to the *Guhyasamāja* and in the next wave of texts, the Yoginītantras, in which the influence of the Śākta Śaiva tradition became much more intense and pervasive.<sup>328</sup>

*yann ātmā labhed buddhasukhāny api; 2 Sections 549–553: sarvakāyopariśvaṅga-sukhapūjāḥ svayambhūvām | niryātayan bhavec chighrāṇ vajrasattvasamo hi sah || dṛḥhānūrāgasamīyogakacagrasukhāni tu | niryātayaṃ tu buddhānām vajraratnasamo bhavet || dṛḥhāpṛitizukhāsakticumbitāgryasukhāni tu | niryātayaṃ tu buddhēnām vajradharmasamo bhavet || dvayendriyasamāpattiyogasaṃkhyāni sarvathā | niryātayaṃ tu pūjāyām vajrakarmasamo bhaved iti; 3 Section 1825: vīśvarīprasamādhīm tu bhāvayan susamāhīṭa | dvayendriyasamāpattiyā māṇḍal tu sa sīdhyati; 4 Section 2168: kāmānām avirāgas tu samayaḥ sumahān ayam | tathāgatakule buddho nātikramyo jinair api; 5 Section 2175: rāgāc chuddhataro nāsti dharmah sarvasukhapradah | tathāgatakule 'py eṣa dharmah siddhikarah parah; 6 Section 2506: surataśramakhinnaṃ tu tat saukhyaṃ suratodbhavam | catuḥprāṇāmapūjāyām niryātya laghu sīdhyati; and 7 Section 2651: antargatena manasā kāmāsiddhīm tu bhāvayan | svaretobindubhir buddhān pūjayan siddhim āpnuyāt. Other passages advocating sexual intercourse in worship are to be found in sections 475–479, 525–529, 929–932, 1184, 1790–1792, 1918–21, 2071–2074, 2158–2159, 2177, 2360–2363, 2415–2416, 2419–2421, 2425, 2439, 2443, 2445, 2504, 2508, 2510, 2512, 2516, 2672, 2720, 2950, and 2951.*

<sup>327</sup> *Guhyasamāja*, preamble: *evam mayā śrutam ekaśmin samaye | bhagavān sarvata-thāgatakāyavākciṭṭahṛdayavajrayosidbhageṣu vijahāra.*

<sup>328</sup> This same formula, or a variant, is seen in the *Vajramālā* (*rDo rje phreng ba*), f. 208r2–3: *becom ldan 'das de bzhin sgegs pa thams cad kyi sku dang gsung dang thugs kyi sning po rdo rje btsun mo'i bha ga rnam la* (as in the *Guhyasamāja*), the *Kṛtyānamāri* (*sarvatathāgatakāyavākciṭṭasarvavajrayosidbhageṣu*), and in those of the Yoginītantras that have a *nīdānavākya*: the *Hevajra* and *Sampulodbhava* (both as in the *Guhyasamāja*), the *Vajrāmṛta* (f. 1v1: *sarvatathāgatakāyavākciṭṭahṛdayavajrāmṛtaguhyapadmeṣu*), *Vajrārāli* (*rDo rje ā ra li*, f. 171r2–3: *de*











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Yogatantras see, e.g., Mkhas Grub rje's *Rgyud spyi*, pp. 222–230.

223 It was accordingly classified in the Kanjur (Töb. 365–367) among the Yoginītantras (Töb. 360–441). Likewise, Mkhas grub rje (1385–1438) in his *Rgyud spyi* (p. 266): *bde mehog kye rdor dus 'khor shyod thod gdan 'bchi* (em.: *gsun Ed.*) phag chen thig le sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor sog ma rgyud yin no The Mother who gives them thig le sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor sog ma rgyud yin no The Mother of the [Yoginī]tantras are such as the Saṃvara, the Hevajra, the Kālacakra, the [Mahā]māyā, the [Buddha]kāpaḥ, the Caturpiṭha, the Mahāmudrātīloka, and the [Sarva]buddhasamāyoga'. This recognition of the [proto-]Yoginītantra character of the text is not only Tibetan. It appears in the thirteenth chapter of the *Dakiniyajopajñura*, where it is referred to in abbreviated form as the '*Sarvabuddha-* (Sangs rgyas kun) in a list of Yoginītantras that also includes the *Vajradāka*, *Hevajra*, *Guhyakosa*, *Vajramṛta*, and *Cakrasaṃvara*: *rdo rje mkha' gro phan rgyud dang!* ('kye yi rdo rje / T: kye yi rdo rje dkijil 'khor do sdom pa gur 'gyi / T: dang D) *byung gnas* (*rdo rje bdud rtal 'byung ba dang! 'khor lo sdom pa gur 'gyi / T: dang D)* *byung gnas na | rnal 'byor ma 'rgyud ni / T: rgyud dur do t) rab tu grags (mkha' gro ma'i dra ba 'rdal rje gur rgyud, D f. 104v4–5; T p. 369, ll. 5–6), and in Dipankaraśrījñāna's commentary on his Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma'i dka' gröl, where he refers to the texts of this class under their alternative title as Yoginīratantaratanas (*rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud*), p. 286: *rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud ni dpal nam mkha' dang mnyam pa 'bum pa chen po 'khor lo sdom pa dang rdo rje mkha' gro dang rdo rje gdan bchi pa dang ma hä mā ya dang sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor**



First, it introduces or brings to the fore the cult of the deity Heruka<sup>340</sup> with an iconography inspired by that of the Bhairavas of the Vidyāpīṭha with their accoutrements and attributes of the cremation-ground dwelling Kāpālika Śaiva ascetic. According to the visualization given by Ānandagarbha he has four faces and eight arms, emerging as the transformation of a dark blue flaming Vajra, itself a transformation of a dark blue syllable HRIḥ. The central face is fierce (*rau-*

*dang sangs rgyas thod pa dang dgyes pa'i rdo rje bum phrag lnga pa la sogs pa rgyud sde stong phrag bcu gnyis bzhugs te rgyas par bya ba na grangs med do* 'The Yoganiruttaratantra, endless in its full extent, contains 12,000 [texts], principally the *Mahākhasama* in 100,000 [verses], the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the *Vajradāka*, the *Vajracatuspīṭha*, the *Mahāmāyā*, the [Sarva]buddhasamāyoga, the *Buddhakapāla*, and the *Hievajra* in 500,000 verses'. On the term Yoganiruttara see here p. 146.

<sup>340</sup> The origin of the name Heruka has not been explained in a satisfactory manner. Indigenous sources explain it only through artificial semantic analyses based on superficial similarities of sound. Thus, for example, we are told that 'He-' means 'uncaused' (*hetuvarjita*), '-ru-' means 'formless' (*rūpanirmukta*), and '-ka' means 'free of sense-faculties' (*karapojhita*); see Vajrapāṇi, *Laghutantraśākhā*, p. 45; Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*, p. 6; and the Tibetans, who translated names if they were meaningful, either left this untranslated or substituted a description, namely Khrag 'thung 'Blood-drinker', a meaning that cannot be justified etymologically. So if the name was meaningful at some stage it appears that that meaning has left no trace in the surviving literature. The alternative is that it never was meaningful in this sense, being created on the basis of the unmeaning syllables HE HE RU RU KAṂ that are found in Cakrasaṃvara's Mūlamantra: OM ŚRĪVAJRA HE HE RU RU KAṂ HŪM HŪM PHAT DĀKINĪJĀLAŚAṆVARAṂ SVĀHĀ. Against this it may be said that the name appears without this doubling of the first two syllables in the earlier *Sarvatathāgatataṭṭvasaṃgraha*, section 794, in the Mantra for the taming of all the Mother goddesses: OM HERUKA VAJRAŚAṆVARA SARVADUṢṬASAMAYA-MUDRĀPRABHĀṆJAKA HŪM PHAT. It might seem more reasonable, then, to see HE HE RU RU KAṂ as a spell-element built from an already existing name. However, it is striking that we find almost the same element in the Vidyā of Parāpārā, an important Mantra of the Śākta Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha: OM AGHORE HRIḥ PARAMAGHORE HŪM GHORARŪPE HAḥ GHORAMUKHI BHĪMA BHĪṢAṆE VAMA PĪBA HE RU RU RA RA PHAT HŪM HAḥ PHAT (*Siddhayaḥśvarīmata* 3.23–39; *Mālinīvijayottara* 3.42–50; *Tantrāloka* 30.20–24b; *Trīśirobhairava* quoted by Jayaratha thereon) and its variant taught in *Kubjikāmata* 18.4–24: AIṢ AGHORE HRĪM HSAḥ PARAMAGHORE HŪM GHORARŪPE HSAṂ GHORAMUKHI BHĪMA BHĪṢAṆE VAMA VAMA PĪBA HAḥ HE RU RU RA RA HRĪM HŪM PHAT. We may note that the name Hievajra, that of the second major deity of the Yoginītantras, appears to have a similar origin, having been conjured up from the Mantra HE VAJRA PĀŚYA 'O Vajra(-being), behold!' that is uttered when the blindfold is removed from the candidate's eyes in the presence of the Maṇḍala (*Sarvatathāgatataṭṭvasaṃgraha*, section 230). The origin of the Herukas Rīgī-ārali and Vajra-ārali of the Tantras of those names are also, it seems, the apparently unmeaning syllables of Mantras: OM ĀRALI RIGI PHEM PHEM PHEM BHYO SVĀHĀ (*Ri gi ā ra li' rgyud* f. 187v2) and OM VAJRA ĀRALI PHAT ... PHEM PHEM SVĀHĀ (*Ri gi ā ra li' rgyud* f. 187v7). The name of the Heruka Buddhakapāla of the Tantra of that name has likewise been conjured out of the feminine vocative BUDDHAKAPĀLINI/KĀPĀLINI that appears in its Mantras; see (*Niṣpannyagāvali*, p. 31: OM BUDDHAKAPĀLINI ĀḤ HĪ HAI HŪM PHAT; *Buddhakapālatantra*, e.g., f. 5r1: OM BUDDHAKAPĀLINI MAṬA 2 ĀḤ PHAT SVĀHĀ *pūspanivedanamantrah*).

*dram*), those to its right and left expressive of delusion and erotic passion, and that behind open-mouthed to devour. In his two uppermost hands he holds the freshly flayed skin of Bhairava over his back, in the two below a bow and arrows, in the third right in descent he shakes a blazing three-pronged Vajra, and in the fourth a skull-bowl filled with human blood (*mahāraktam*). In the third left in descent he brandishes the Kāpālika's skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), topped with a three-pronged Vajra and adorned with bells, and in the fourth a skull-bowl filled with human flesh (*mahāmāṃsam*). Or he may be single-faced and two-armed, with a five-pronged Vajra in his right hand raised above his shoulder and a skull-bowl full of human flesh in his left, with a skull-staff resting on his left shoulder and held in the crook of his left arm. He wears a chaplet of skulls with the Buddha (*Akṣobhya*) adorning his flaming hair, is surrounded by an aureole of flames, poses with his left foot on the ground and his right leg raised so that the sole of the foot touches his left thigh, has dancing eye-brows knitted in anger, and has round, fire-red darting eyes.<sup>341</sup> Kalyāṇagarbha, who teaches only the two-armed form, adds that he stands on a sun disc, which rests on a lotus, which rests in turn on a prostrate corpse, is smeared with ashes, wears a garland of freshly severed human heads, and has protruding fangs.<sup>342</sup> An anonymous Sādhana text,

<sup>341</sup> *Vajrajvalodaya*, f. 172v1–2: *bhagavato mahāmudrāṃ baddhvā purata ākāśadeśe HRI<ḥ>kāreṇa viśvopadmaṃ nispāḍya tasyopari pañcasūcikaṃ jvalāvajraṃ HŪM A iti | tato vajrāhaṃkāra-cṇ> bhāvayet JVALĀVAJRO 'HAM HŪM iti | tatas tad vajraṃ śrīherukaṃ ātmānaṃ bhāvayet ŚRĪHERUKO 'HAM HŪM iti; f. 173r4–v4: caturmukham aṣṭabhujaṃ | tatra prathamam mukhaṃ raudraṃ dakṣiṇa-cṇ> dviṭya-cṇ> mukhaṃ pramoha\*pramodina-cṇ> (?) prṥthalas tṛtīyakam bhakṣaṇa-mukhaṃ vāmataś caturthaṃ śrīgārāmukhaṃ | etac ca mukha\*catuṣṭayaṃ [conj. ISAACSON : catuṣṭaya Cod.] gīṭyā nirdiṣṭam iti | dvābhyaṃ bhujābhyaṃ vīrya-palādīhāreṇayogena sārdrabhairavacarmadharaṃ dvābhyaṃ dhanurābhādharaṃ dakṣiṇatṛiyena trīśicīvajrāvalājvalālanataraṃ caturthena mahāraktapari-pūrṇakapāladharaṃ vāmatriṭye ghaṇṭāsāhitaivajrakhaṭvāṅgadharaṃ caturthena mahāmāṃsaparipūrṇakapāla'dharaṃ [corr. : dharaḥ Cod.] | dvibhujaṃ ekamukhaṃ <dv> vāmakaṇḍhe yaṇṇopavītyayoga ghaṇṭāvajrakhaṭvāṅgaśobhitam dakṣiṇakareṇa \*tripalākīyuktina [corr. : tripalāka Cod.] pañcasūcījvalāvajradharaṃ | vāmakareṇa mahāmāṃsaparipūrṇakapāladharaṃ | kapālamālā-mukutabuddhacūḍāmaṇi-cṇ> uccaviśvopadmaśanopaviṣṭam vāmapādāṃ bhūmiśam kṛtvā dakṣiṇapāda-cṇ> satvoparyāṅkayogena nyasya | tatpādatalaṃ vāmoruṇā sampuṭikaraṇayogena vāśāḥpāya nilajvalāvajramayaṃ raktaajvalābhamaṇḍalaṃ mahāpralayaśālograsmaśānagnisadrāṣaṃ dīptakāṣaṃ raudrādīśaṃ samyogaucitraṃ mukhaviharaṃ | saṁvībhramaḥbhūbhṛkṛt-cṇ> pradīptaloka-narītadṛṣṭim iti.*

<sup>342</sup> Kalyāṇagarbha, *Herukasādhana*, pp. 470–471: *adhomukhasya śaṣasopari viśva-padmaṃ tasyopari śāryamaṇḍalaṃ tanmadhye samupaviṣṭam \*ekāsyordhvaḥbhujayam (ekāsyam en. : ekāsyam Ed.) iti vacanād ardhaparyāṅkinam bhasmodhūlita-cṇ> raktaḥprabhāmālīṇaṃ piṅgalorābhakāṣam ... sārdranaramastakamālākṛtasragdāmaṃ damṣṭrākarālavadanam caladartulākārarakṭhāṣam saṁvībhrama-bhrukuṭīnam.*



which also teaches only that form, gives the further details that he is dark blue and clad in a garment of human skin, that his garland of heads is strung together with human entrails, that he is adorned with human bones, that is to say with the Kapālika ornaments known as the Mudrās, and that his posture indicates that he is dancing.<sup>243</sup>

He is surrounded in the style of the Vidyāpīṭha by twenty Vajradākinis:<sup>244</sup> first, in the innermost circuit the eight Gauri, Cauri, Pramohā, Vetālī, Pukkasi, Candālī, Ghasmarī, and Herukasamñiveśā/Herukasamñibhā; then the four Cūpadhārīnī, Khaṭvāṅgadhārīnī, Cakradhārīnī, and Citrapatākādhārīnī; then four offering goddesses: Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Ālokā, and Gandhā; and finally four theriocephalic gate-guardians: Turāṅgamā, Vajramukhī, Vajramāmākī, and Bhāsmāpralayaṭvālī.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>243</sup> *Sādhnamālā* no. 241: *tato hrīṣṭkūṇanipannam nilakṛāṇilavajraṃ hrīṣṭkārādhī-  
ṣṭhitavarāṇake dhṛyātā tatsarvaparipatāṇaṃ nilam narakamabhyāṇam kapālamā-  
kabhayāstarakāṇaṃ jvaladārdhāvapinālakāṣṭham raktavarīṇulakāṣṭham antrasaṅgrahita-  
nūṇamālāvalambitāṃ nārāṣṭhracūṭābharaṇaṃ dvibhujāikamukhāṃ dāṃṣṭrā-  
karūlavandanam ... vīṣṭvāpādmāsūrye vāmapādāṇi tasyaivāraṇaṃ dakṣiṇapādaṇaṃ  
vinyasya nṛtyam kurvantaṃ herukavajraṃ bhavayet*. There are numerous two-  
armed Herukas conforming to the iconographical prescriptions of these Sādhana  
in surviving statuary from eastern India, though this connection with the tradition  
of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* has not been recognized to my knowledge. For ex-  
amples from Ratnagiri in Orissa, Nālandā, Sārnāth, and Subhāpur (in the Comilla  
District of Bengal) see LINROTHE 1999, pp. 249–260, figs. 175–183, and 185–188,  
and HUNTINGTON 1984, fig. 215. The last lacks the prostrate corpse.

<sup>244</sup> *Vajrajāloḍayā*, f. 176r<sup>v</sup>–v1: *sarvāṇi śrīgaurādīśvrajadākinīṇaṃ nirmāya  
prajvalitādvakṣaṇaṃ raktajvalābhamaṇḍalaṃ mahāpralayaṇaṃ tālograsmaśānāg-  
nīṣṭhāṇaṃ sarukūṭāṇaṃ cakrapāṇikabuddhamakūṭaṃ svacīṇadharāṇaṃ yathā-  
tathāṇaṃ nīṣṭhāṇaṃ*.

<sup>245</sup> The *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* deploys a complex six-family Maṇḍala consisting of six  
sub-Maṇḍalas. The six families, each with its own sub-Maṇḍala, are these Va-  
jrasattva, Vairocana, Heruka, Padmanartīśvara, Vajrasūrya, and Paramāśva. Two  
Maṇḍala traditions deploy this pantheon. In one Vajrasattva occupies the cen-  
tral sub-Maṇḍala and in the other Heruka. In each sub-Maṇḍala one of these  
six occupies the centre surrounded by twenty goddesses. The last twelve god-  
desses are the same in each, namely Śuśrī, Nṛtyā/Vipā, Vitātā, and Ghaṇā,  
followed by Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Ālokā, Gandhā, Turāṅgā, Vajramukhī, Vajramāmākī,  
and Bhāsmāpralayaṭvālī, the first eight of these being, as their names reveal,  
offering-goddesses (*pūjādevīyāḥ*), personifications of offerings, and the last four gate-  
guardians, except that in the retinue of Heruka Cūpadhārīnī, Khaṭvāṅgadhārīnī,  
Cakradhārīnī, and Citrapatākādhārīnī are substituted for the first four, the mu-  
sical offering-goddesses Śuśrī, Nṛtyā/Vipā, Vitātā, and Ghaṇā. The first eight  
of the twenty, then, stand apart as the retinue specific to each Tathāgata. The  
eight from Gauri to Herukasamñiveśā formed the basis of the retinue of Hevajra  
in the Yogiṇītantra *Hevajra*, with the difference that there we see Bahurī rather  
than Pramohā and Dombī rather than Herukasamñiveśā. See TOMABECHI 2007,  
pp. 919–921 for a complete tabulation of all one hundred and twenty-six deities and  
their seed-syllables as given in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* and the *Paramāśva*.

According to Ānandagarbha<sup>246</sup> Gauri (E) is fair in colour and tranquil-faced.

See also TANAKA 1996, pp. 199–201 for the Tibetan names of all the goddesses (and  
their Mantras) in the six sub-Maṇḍalas, and the listings of the names and posi-  
tions of all the deities of the two six-family Maṇḍalas in BSOD NAMS RGYA MTSHO  
1991, pp. 108–113. In the Heruka-centred Maṇḍala set out there each of the six  
deities presiding over the sub-Maṇḍalas has a consort: Heruka + Iśvari, Vairocana  
+ Locanā, Vajrasūrya + Māmākī, Padmanartīśvara + Pāṇḍaravāsīnī, Paramāśva  
+ Tārā, and Vajradhara + Saṃvarī; and the total of deities is 135, since two extra  
goddesses, counted as one, Citrapadmā and Citravajrā, are found in front of the cen-  
tral deity in the sub-Maṇḍala of Paramāśva, and there are eight additional deities  
in the outer enclosure, since there too there are four offering goddesses within its  
corners and four animal-headed goddesses guarding its gateways. Theriocephalic  
female gate-guardians are a common feature in the Maṇḍalas of the Yogiṇītantras;  
see, e.g., *Samvarodaya* 13.29c–31b; Jayabhadra, *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*, p. 113 on  
2.8 (Kākāśyā, Ulūkāśyā, Śvānāśyā, Śūkarāśyā); *Nīṣṭhānāyogāraṇī*, p. 15 (Hāyāśyā,  
Śūkarāśyā, Śvānāśyā, and Sīṃhāśyā in the 17-deity Maṇḍala of Hevajra) and p.  
90 (Śūkarāśyā, Gṛdhṛāśyā, Jambukāśyā, Garuḍāśyā, Vyāghrāśyā, Ulūkāśyā in the  
Maṇḍala of Kālacakra).

<sup>246</sup> *Vajrajāloḍayā*, ff. 177r4–178r5: *pūrvodigbhāge gaurī gauravarṇa śāntadrṣṭīḥ  
saumyanmukhā yaugapadyenaiva tikṣṇadharanūbānaparikṣepān mahāprasahya-  
śiraś>catuṣṭayaṃ pātayanti pratyāliḍhasthānasthā | dakṣiṇe caurī raktavarṇā  
raudradṛṣṭimukhā yajñopavītya yena vāmaskandhe khaṭvāṅgaṃ dhārayanti |  
kapālamālāmukhā vāmakrodhamuṣṭinā hrīḍy anūśādhārīnī dakṣiṇakareṇa  
madhyāṅgulyāṣṭārācakraṃ utkarṣayanti vāmapādena trailokyam laṅghayanti |  
pāścīme pramohā ādivarāhamukhā pramohadrṣṭīḥ kṛṣṇa caturbhujā madya-  
pūrkapālavāmākārā dakṣiṇakare vajradhārīnī punar vāmadakṣiṇabhujābhyāṃ  
\*parasparābaddhābhyāṃ (corr. : paramparābaddhābhyāṃ Cod.) pṛthivy-  
uddharāṇaṃ kurvanti āliḍhapaḍāvasthīḥ | uttare vetālī sitavarṇāṃ haṣa-  
mukhāṃ mṛtakothāpanadrṣṭīḥ dakṣiṇakareṇa candrakāntābhakapāḍācāṣaṇā-  
mṛtalavāridhārāṃ pātayanti vāmakareṇa vajrapatākākaradhārīnīm yatheṣṭa-  
padāvasthīḥ | tasmīn eva maṇḍale pūrva\*koṣṭhe (corr. : koṣṭha Cod.) pukkasi  
vīṣṭvavarṇā nṛtyamukhī nṛtyadrṣṭīḥ dakṣiṇavajramuṣṭinā pañcasūcikajvalāvajra-  
dhārīnī | vāmakareṇa marūtoddhātākālpasṭhānatādhārīnī kapālamālādi-  
pūrvasādhūmaśānāmadhye nṛtyaprayogaṇa | dakṣiṇe candālī nilavarṇā vāta-  
maṇḍalikarūḍhā savibhramamukhī ūrdhvadrṣṭīḥ dakṣiṇamuṣṭinā vajrasūlām  
āḍāya | vāyupāḍadhārāṇa vātamāṇḍalikāpramohāṇa sādhyā\*prāṇāṇādayo  
patenti (?) | pāścīme ghasmarī kṛṣṇa\*carṇā (corr. : varṇāṇā Cod.) mṛta-  
cervanamukhī bhakṣanadrṣṭīḥ | vāmakareṇa vajrajālāgnikūṇadadhārīnī | dakṣiṇe  
vajramuṣṭinā khaḍgam āḍāya pratyāliḍhapaḍāvasthīḥ | uttare śriherukarūpa-  
saṃñibhā vāmakareṇa \*caṣakapāḍām (caṣaka conj. : caṣāḍa Cod.) āḍāya  
vāmaskandhe khaṭvāṅgaṃ dhārayanti | dakṣiṇe tripatākākarāṇa pañcasūcika-  
jvalāvajram āḍāya śriherukapade dvibhujāikamukhī saṃsthitā | āgneyakoṣṭhake  
\*cūpadhārīnī (em. : copodhārīnī Cod.) | raktavarṇā vāmakareṇa vajra-  
dhanur āḍāya dakṣiṇa \*vajracāpasahitena (corr. : vajracāpasahitena Cod.)  
dhanur > guṇākāraṇayogaṇa \*vajrabāṇān (corr. : vajrabāṇān Cod.) kṣipanti |  
nairṛte khaṭvāṅgadhārīnī kapālamālāmukhābuddhacūḍāmaṇi > \*drṣṭitārā (?)  
bhāsmāsubhavarṇā dakṣiṇakareṇa ca pañcasūcika-jvalāvajra > pāṇyā kṣipanti  
| vāyavye (em. : vāyave krodhamuṣṭinā tarjanīlātaparā | vāyavye Cod.) \*cakra-  
dhārīnī (corr. : cakradhārī Cod.) gauraharitarṇā vāmakrodhamuṣṭinā tar-  
janīlātaparā \*dakṣiṇakaramadhyamāṅgulyāṣṭārācakraṃ (dakṣiṇa corr. : dakṣiṇe  
Cod.) utkarṣayanti | aiśāne koṣe citrapatākādhārīnī | \*kanakapalavarṇā (varṇa*



Eight-armed, she cuts off each of the four heads of Brahmā by simultaneously firing arrows from four bows.<sup>347</sup> Cauri (S) is red and fierce-faced. Wearing a chaplet of skulls she holds a goad-hook (*aṅkuṣaḥ*) in her left hand at her heart with a skull-staff in the crook of her left arm resting on her left shoulder, and holds aloft an eight-spoked discuss with the middle finger of her right, pressing down on the three worlds with her left foot. Pramohā (W) is black and four-armed, with the face of Viṣṇu's boar-incarnation (*ādivarāhamukhā*). In her first left hand she holds a skull-bowl full of wine and in her first right a Vajra. With her other two hands she imitates the boar-incarnation by raising up the earth.<sup>348</sup> Vetālī (N) is white and joyful-faced. With her right hand she pours a stream of the nectar of immortality from a transparent skull-cup and with her left shows the Vajra banner gesture. Pukkasi [E] is multi-coloured (*viśvavarṇā*) and dancing in a smoky cremation-ground full of strings of skulls and the like. In her right fist she clasps a five-pronged Vajra and in her left a wind-buffed tendril from the wish-granting tree of paradise (*kalpavṛkṣatātā*). Caṇḍālī (S) is dark blue and riding on a whirlwind (*vātamaṇḍalikā*). In her right fist she clenches a Vajra-topped trident and with her left releases a whirlwind against her victims. Ghasmarī (W) is black and eating a corpse. In her left hand she holds a blazing sacrificial fire-vessel (*agnikuṇḍa*-) and with her right grasps a sword. Herukasamṇibhā (N), black like Heruka, holds a skull-cup [to her heart] in her left hand, with a skull-staff resting on her left shoulder, and a five-pronged Vajra in her right. Cāpadhārīṇī (SE) is red and, holding a Vajra bow with her left hand, fires Vajra arrows by drawing back the bowstring with her right. Khaṭvāṅgadhārīṇī (SW) is ash-white, wearing a chaplet of skulls and the Buddha on her crown, [holding a skull-staff with her left hand and] hurling a blazing fire-pronged Vajra from

conj. : *varṇa* Cod.) *dakṣiṇakareṇa* \**saṃghaṭa*(?)*vicitravarnapātākā* <ṃ> dhāra-  
yanti.

<sup>347</sup> That Gauri is eight-armed is not stated by Ānandagarbha, but she could not draw four bows simultaneously with fewer and no other hands are mentioned. His *mahāprasahya*- is obscure but evidently it denotes Brahmā since the victim is said here to have four heads (*mahāprasahyaśira* <ś> *catuṣṭayaṃ pātayanti*). Both these inferences are supported by Hūṃkāravajra, who is explicit in both regards in his \**Herukasādhana* (f. 203v2): *zha! bzhi phyag brgyad brjā pa'i stongs* | *gyon brkyang gar gyis bzhus mdzad cing* | *mda' bzhi dus geig bkang ba la* | *tshangs pa'i ngo bzhi spyangs pa ste*.

<sup>348</sup> According to Hūṃkāravajra's *Herukasādhana* she has two heads, that of a boar above and a red head below. Moreover, he has her raise with her two lower hands a wheel (*khora lo*) rather than the earth (f. 203v3-5). \**pra* (em. : *bra* Cod.) *mo dbu gnyis gong ma phag* | *'og ma dmar po phyag bzhi pa* | *gyas kyi dang pos rdo rje rtsē gsum bsnams* | *gyon gyi dang pos kham phor 'chang* | *'og gnyis khu tshur so sor 'chang* | *'khora lo 'dzin cing bteḡ pa'i tshul* | *gyas brkyang stabs beas nub phyogs su* | *rmongs tshul mdog dmar pa dma la*.

her right. Cakradhārīṇī (NW) is light green and holds aloft an eight-spoked discuss on the middle finger of her right hand and threatens [the wicked] with her left fist clenched in anger. Citrapatākādhārīṇī (NE) is golden in colour, holding a multi-coloured banner in her right hand. The four offering-goddesses stand in the directions holding the offerings that they personify: flowers, an incense-burner, a lamp, and fragrant powder; and the four goddesses Turāṅgamā, Vajramukhī, Vajramāmakī/Ālokā, and Bhāsmapralayavetālī stand in the four gates of the enclosure to subjugate all hostile deities (*krodhakulam*), with the heads of a horse, a boar, a crow, and a dog, and holding a hook, noose, chain, and bell.<sup>349</sup>

All this, barring a few specifically Buddhist details such as the Vajras and the offering-goddesses, who are already in the Mantranaya of the *Sarva*-

<sup>349</sup> Ānandagarbha's text is corrupt and lacunose at this point in the manuscript, omitting Vajramukhī and Vajramāmakī (f. 178r5-v2): *vāmaṣuṣṭinā 'ghaṭy'āva-sṭhitā 'tryātmāñjalīnā puspadhūpadipagandhachinnadhārīṇyāśvagoṣṭhāsābhāti-saṃjñiṣṭasattopūjādevī* | *pīrvadvāramadhye turāṅgāsānā vāmahastena padma-hastā hayagrīvaaharitam āśvāmukhaṃ dhārayanti* | *dakṣiṇe kare śhītena vajrā-nkuṣena sarvakrodhakulam ākaraṇyanti* | *paścime 'dāra ālokām* (corr. : *dvāre lokāṃ* Cod.) *candrasūryamaṇḍalā'rā'payuktavajra* \**sphoṭanena* (conj. : *sphoṭanaṃ* Cod.) *sarvaṃ krodhakulam bandhayanīti* | *uttaradvāre bhāsmapralayavetālī* \**vāmakareṇa* (corr. : *nāmākareṇa* Cod.) *kapālamadhye viśvavajrasthaṃ buddha-bimbaṃ dhārayet* | *dakṣiṇe kare śhītavajraghaṇṭasādanayogena sarvakrodha-kulam vāstkurvanti* \**avasthītā* (corr. : *avasthīlāḥ* Cod.) | \**sarvāś caitāḥ* (corr. : *sarvavācētāḥ* Cod.) *pratyāldhasthānasthā* <ḥ> *sadrṣṭibhāvarasānvitā* <ḥ>. A complete but less detailed description of these eight can be seen in the Tibetan translation of the \**Herukasādhana* of Hūṃkāravajra, f. 204r4-7. The identity of the non-human heads of the gate-guardians is mentioned in these sources only in the case of the horse-headed Turāṅgamā, by Ānandagarbha and Hūṃkāravajra (f. 204r5: *shar sgo rta mgrin 'phang mtho dkar* | *gyas na rta gdong gyon lcags kyu*), and Vajramukhī, by Hūṃkāravajra, who names this goddess Phag gdong 'Boar-face' (Sūkariyā) (f. 204r6: *lhor sgor phag gdong snon mo ste* | *gyas pas mche ba gyon zhags 'dzin*). According to the tradition of the Ngor Maṇḍalas, the last two door-guardians, Snang ba ma (Ālokā) and Thal byed ma (\*Bhāsmakārīṇī [?]), are crow-faced and dog-faced (BSOD NAMS RGYA MTSO 1991, p. 110). These animal-headed guardians exemplify the character of this Tantra as transitional between the Yogatantras and the Yogiṇītantras. The animal-headedness is shared with such goddesses in the latter (see here p. 151), but the hand-attributes, namely the hook, noose, chain, and bell, are those of Vajrāṅkuṣā, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphota, and Vajrāveśa, the male gate-guardians of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala of the Yogatantra *Sarvatathāgatataṭṭvasaṃgraha*; see TANAKA 1996, p. 271. For those attributes see the \**Herukasādhana* of Hūṃkāravajra, f. 204r6-7 (I have restored the Mantras, which invoke the goddesses as the personifications of these attributes, to their correct Sanskrit form): OM \*VAJRAṆKUṢĒ (corr. BA DZRA AM KU SHA COD.) JAH | *shar sgo rta mgrin 'phang mtho dkar* | *gyas na rta gdong gyon lcags kyu* | OM VAJRAPĀŚĒ IIM | *lhor sgor phag gdong snon mo ste* | *gyas pas mche ba gyon zhags 'dzin* | OM \*VAJRAŚRĪKHALE (corr. : BA DZRA SHRĪ KHA LE COD.) VAM | *nub sgor snang byed dmar mo ni* | *phyag gnyis nyi zla lcags sgor 'dzin* | OM \*VAJRAGHAṆṬĒ (corr. : BA DZRA GA ṆṬĒ COD.) HOH | *byang sgor thal byed mdog ljang du* | *sang rgyas gzugs dang dril bu'o*.







rhetoric of appropriation is reflected in the Mantras of Heruka's Vajraḍākinis. Pramohā, who, as we have seen, has the boar face of Viṣṇu's Ādivarāha incarnation, is invoked as Vajranārāyaṇī, Caurī as Vajracandheśvarī, and Ghasmarī as Vajramāheśvarī.<sup>354</sup> Furthermore, Heruka's first appearance in the Mantranāya is in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, where his name appears in a Mantra for the drawing of all the (Śaiva) Mother-goddesses into Buddhism, and it is that, with the insertion of a single seed syllable, that is adopted as the Mantra of Heruka in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*.<sup>357</sup> The very title of the work alludes to this assimilation, since it is evidently calqued on those of two Vidyāpīṭha scriptures, the *Sarvavīrasamāyoga* and the *Yoginījālaśaṃvara*.<sup>358</sup>

# The Yoginītantras and the Full Appropriation of Vidyāpīṭha Śaivism

With the Yoginītantras proper we reach the final stage of this process of absorption. The principal among the numerous Tantras of this class are the

*Laghuśaṃvara* also called *Cakrasaṃvara* and *Herukābhīdhāna*, the *Hevajra*, the *Catupīṭha*, the *Vajrāmṛta*, the *Buddhakapāla*, the *Mahāmāyā*, the *Rig'yārālī*, the *Vajrārālī*, the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, and the *Kālacakra*. Two of these texts, the *Laghuśaṃvara* of the Heruka called Śaṃvara (bDe mchog) or Cakrasaṃvara ('Khor lo sdom pa) and the *Hevajra* of the Heruka Hevajra held centre-stage, a position they later shared with the *Kālacakra* when that text was propagated towards the end of the tenth century, during the reign of Mahipāla I (r. c. 977–1027).<sup>359</sup> Their importance is reflected in the sheer quantity of commentaries and other texts devoted to the cult of their deities. The Tenjur contains translations of eleven commentaries on the *Hevajra* and of eleven on the *Laghuśaṃvara*, and of about two hundred other explanatory texts related to each. Moreover, they both have a number of satellite Tantras, the *Hevajra* five and the *Laghuśaṃvara* over fifty.<sup>360</sup> The principal among these, those that received commentaries, are for the *Hevajra* the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara* and the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, and for the *Laghuśaṃvara* the *Herukābhīdhaya*, the *Vajraḍāka*, the *Abhidhānottara*, the *Yoginisamcāra*, the *Samvarodaya*, and the *Ḍākārṇava*. Another major Yoginītantra, the *Samputodbhava*, on which we have an important commentary, the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, by Abhayākara Gupta (1064–1125),<sup>361</sup> pertains to both cycles.<sup>362</sup>

<sup>359</sup> On the date of the *Kālacakra* see here p. 96. On the establishing of this tradition and how it positioned itself in relation to earlier Tantric Buddhism see SFERRA 2005.

<sup>360</sup> This large total includes thirty-four texts (Tōh. 383–416), forming a supplementary collection, as it were, of related *opera minora*, totalling less than 150 pages. Though included in the Kanjur they were classified by Bu ston (1290–1364) as supplementary Tantras whose authenticity, that is to say, Indian origin, was the subject of debate (*rgyud yang dag yin min / zlod pa can*). The great majority are claimed in their colophons to be translations prepared in the early eleventh century by 'Brog mi in collaboration with the Indian Gayadhara. On the lay Tantric Gayadhara, who is mentioned in no Indian source known to me but is the subject of many partly conflicting accounts in Tibet, where he was venerated as the Indian source of the Lam 'bras tradition and for having collaborated with several Tibetan translators, see STEARNS 2001, pp. 47–55. It is, however, certain that not all these *opera minora* are of suspect authenticity. For my pupil Péter-Dániel Szántó has recently identified the original Sanskrit of one, the *Anāvilatantra*, among the contents of a palm-leaf codex preserved in the Tokyo University Library (verbal communication).

<sup>361</sup> These dates rest on Tibetan tradition and are consistent with the regnal years of Rāmapāla that Abhayākara Gupta has reported as the dates of composition at the end of some of his works; see here p. 126.

<sup>362</sup> Thus, though counted as an explanatory Tantra of the Cakrasaṃvara cycle, it is grouped with the *Hevajra* and *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara* as one of the three Tantras of Hevajra (*kye rdo rje rgyud gsum*) in the Sa skya tradition of Tibet, and classified because of its mixed character as the *Hevajra*'s shared explanatory Tantra (*thun mong bshad rgyud*); see STEARNS 2001, pp. 173–174, n. 28. It also extends into the territories of the *Catupīṭha*, the *Guhyaśaṃjā*, the *Vajrabhairava*, and, as we

*Sangs rgyas thams cad mnyam par sbyor ba*, ff. 158v7–159r5, except that there Paramēśa's (Śiva's) consort is Bhīmādevī (f. 159r2: *tha mo bhi mo*) and Nārāyaṇa's (Viṣṇu's) is Rukmiṇī (f. 159r3: *ru gmi ni*).

<sup>354</sup> *Vajrajūlodayā*, f. 176v: HUM VAJRANĀRĀYAṆĪ JHIR itī (em. : *jhirati* Cod.). *pramohām*; *ibid.*: HUM VAJRACANDHEŚVARĪ KHATVĀNGĪ MAHĀVAJRI KAPĀLAMĀLĀMUKUTE RULU RULU HUM itī *caurīm*. Ghasmarī is invoked as Vajramāheśvarī in the Mantras of the retinue of Heruka given in the *Samputodbhava*: OM VAJRAMĀHEŚVARĪ HAM HAM HAM HAM HAḤ RULU RULU RULU BHYO HŪM PHAT BHAKṢĀYA SARVADUṢṬĀN NIRMATHA HRDAYAM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ | *ghasmar'yāh* (f. 81r4–5). There are other examples of the assimilative transformation of non-Buddhist deities in the Mantranāya, marked, as here, by the prefixing of Vajra- to their names. For example, the deities Vajranārāyaṇa, [Vajra]candheśvara, and Vajrapāṇcodbhava, that is to say, Vajrayānist transformations of Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Brahmā, together with their consorts Vajrasrī, Vajragaurī, and Vajratārā, join Ākūśagarbha and Khavajrīṇī to form the retinue of Vajrasattva in the central section of the abridged Maṇḍala (*bsdus pa'i dkyil 'khor*) of the Yogatantra *Paramādyā*, a text with which the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* is closely related (TOMABECHI 2007, p. 904; TANAKA 1996, pp. 271–272). That disposition of deities is taught (see TANAKA 1996, pp. 96–103) in the *mChog dang po'i sngags kyi rlog pa'i dum bu* (\**Śrīparamādyamantrakalpakaṇḍa*) (Tōh. 488) according to Ānandagarbha's *mChog dang po'i rgya cher bshad pa* (\**Paramādyāṭhā*) (Tōh. 2512).

<sup>357</sup> *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, section 794: OM HERUKAVAJRASAMĀYA SARVADUṢṬĀSAMĀYAMUDRĀPRABHĀṆJAKA HUM PHAT sarvamatīṇām itī; *Vajrajūlodayā*: OM HERUKAVAJRASAMĀYA H<R>Ḥ SARVADUṢṬĀSAMĀYAMUDRĀPRABHĀṆJAKA HUM PHAT itī *svamantreṇa śrīherukaṃ nīśeṣyati*.

<sup>358</sup> On these two scriptures see SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 234–236 and footnotes 12–22. The expression *sarvavīrasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, without the substitution of *-buddha-* for *-vīra-*, is seen in the Yoginītantras of Cakrasaṃvara. It appears in, e.g., *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, f. 8r3 (8.1) and f. 24v4 (31.13c): *tataḥ sarvavīrasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvaram*; and *Samvarodaya* 3.6cd: *sarvavīrasamāyogaḍākinījālasatsukham*. In the last *satsukham* is a tacit semantic analysis of *saṃvara*.



CHRONOLOGY AND PROVENANCE. All of these Tantras were translated into Tibetan, and all but the latest among them, the *Dāharpava* and the *Samvarodaya*, were translated in the first half of the eleventh century, during the opening phase of the later diffusion (*phyi dar*) of Indian Buddhism to Tibet, as were commentaries on the majority of those named here, most written during the course of the tenth and early eleventh centuries.

The oldest is probably the commentary of Jayabhadra on the *Laghushaṅvara*. In chapter 38 of his *Rgya gar chos 'byung* Tārānātha includes five of our commentators on the *Laghushaṅvara*, Jayabhadra, Bhavabhadra/Bhavabhāṭa, Bhavyakīrti, Durjayacandra, and Tathāgatarakṣita, among ten persons whom he holds to have occupied the office of chief Vajrācārya at Vikramaśīla in rapid unbroken succession, and claims that Jayabhadra was the first of the ten (Jayabhadra, Śrīdhara, Bhavabhadra (Bhavabhāṭa), Bhavyakīrti, Līlāvajra, Durjayacandra, Kṛṣṇasamayavajra, Tathāgatarakṣita, Bodhibhadra, and Kamalarakṣita). Moreover, comparison of the commentaries, the Tibetan translation, and the only manuscript of the *Laghushaṅvara* accessible to me at present reveals two versions of the text. Tārānātha's claim that Jayabhadra preceded all the other commentators in his list gains support from the fact that Jayabhadra knew what is evidently the earlier of these two versions. It extends only to 50.19, ending with a passage on fire-sacrifices that may be performed if one wishes to subject another to one's will (*vaśyahomah*). In the second, attested by all the other commentators except Bhavyakīrti,<sup>263</sup> by the Tibetan translation, and by

the manuscript, the fiftieth chapter has eight verses after the last of the shorter text (50.20-27), followed by a fifty-first chapter of twenty-two verses. It is clear that the longer text is the later. For the alternative, that the shorter text arose after the longer by excision of the final thirty verses, is inconceivable, since these have the effect of greatly increasing the plausibility of the whole as a Buddhist work and were no doubt added because it was felt, quite rightly, that 1.1 to 50.19 were inadequate in this regard. The only element of Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrine contained in the text up to 50.19 comprises a section of four verses (10.1-4) stating that success in the pursuit of Siddhis depends on the Sādhaka's identifying with the three Buddha bodies (Dharmakāya, Saṃbhogakāya, and Nirmāṇakāya), all other Buddhist elements being little more than a handful of occurrences of the terms Buddha, Tathāgata, and Bodhisattva, and the names of Vajrayānist deities.

Now Tārānātha claims that his ten successive Tantric Ācāryas of Vikramaśīla held their positions after the time of Buddhajñānapāda and Dipankarabhadra, whom he places in the reign of Dharmapāla (c. 775-812); and he reports that each did so for twelve years, implying thereby a form of limited tenure. Thereafter, he says, came the six "Door-keepers". Among them was Ratnākaraśānti, who taught the Tibetan translator 'Brog mi Śākya ye shes (993-1077)<sup>264</sup> and the Indian Dipankaraśrījñāna<sup>265</sup> (982-1054), and was a slightly older contemporary of Jñānaśrimitra, who was active c. 980-1030. From this it would be a simple matter to determine the approximate date of Jayabhadra, the first of the ten, by counting the years from either end, were it not that Tārānātha makes the collective tenure of the ten Ācāryas 120 years, whereas the interval between Dipankarabhadra and Ratnākaraśānti is almost two centuries. We might be inclined to count back from Ratnākaraśānti rather than forward from Dipankarabhadra, thinking that a historian's information is likely to be more reliable the closer he approaches his own time. In that case, if we trust Tārānātha and set the end of the tenure of Kamalarakṣita in 1000, as the immediate predecessor of the Door-keepers, we will conclude that Jayabhadra's tenure ran from 680-692.

words are synonymous in ordinary usage, in the tradition of the Yoginītantras it is the former alone that is used in the special sense evidently intended here, that is, as a technical term for the Tantric practitioner. As for the second element, the same dictionary gives *manojñā* for *vid du 'ong*. But the result is unattractive by the standards of Sanskrit authors, who generally sought, like authors everywhere, to give their works titles that appealed to the ear. *Vīramānoramā* is synonymous and meets this requirement.

<sup>264</sup> *Zhih mo rdo rje*, p. 84.

<sup>265</sup> *Blue Annals*, p. 380.

have seen, the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaśāntiśālasamāra*.

<sup>263</sup> In Bhavyakīrti's *Cakrasaṃtaraṇapāṭya* the text of the *Laghushaṅvara* ends exactly where it does in Jayabhadra's. It is therefore likely to belong like Jayabhadra's to the earliest phase of the exegesis of this Tantra. Jayabhadra's appears to be the older of the two. In 41.8 Bhavyakīrti attests with the later witnesses the interpolation (see here p.199) 'od dīyānājīlāndharapullīramalayādīṣu (bDe mchog nyung ngu, f. 239r2; au dya na | dā la nāha ra dang pu li ra ma la ya saḡe), since he comments here (f. 36v6): o dya na du ni 'od dān ma'o | dā la nāha rar ni gtum mig ma'o | pu li ra ma la ya la saḡe, whereas Jayabhadra says that Pullīramalaya has not been mentioned but must nonetheless be understood to be intended (p. 137: pullīramalayo na nirdīṣṭaḥ sarvapīṭhānām pradhānatvād upadeśāt vācyaḥ). It seems probable, then, that Bhavyakīrti follows the reading of a subsequent redaction in which this 'omission' had been rectified.

At the beginning of the translation the name of Bhavyakīrti's commentary is said to be *Sūramanorāmā* in Sanskrit and *dpa' bo'i yid du 'ong* in Tibetan, i.e. "pleasing to heroes". But the Sanskrit titles given in the Tenjur are so often inaccurate that we can conclude that they do not reach us from the Sanskrit works themselves but are reconstructions from the Tibetan added by the compilers of the Tenjur. The Sanskrit rendered by *dpa' bo'i yid du 'ong* can now only be guessed, but its first element was surely *Vīra-* rather than *Sūra-*. The *Mahāyānāpatti*, composed to guide Tibetan translators and no doubt the dictionary used by the compilers of the Tenjur, gives *dpa' bo* to render both *vīra-* and *sūra-*, both meaning 'hero'; but though the two



However, this chronology can be reconciled with other reports only at a great stretch, at least for the later teachers in Tāranātha's succession. Thus Dmarston, pupil of Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) tells us<sup>366</sup> that Durjayacandra, who by this calculation would have held office from 940 to 952, was the teacher of Prajñendraruci, also called Viravajra, and that the latter taught 'Brog mi Śākya ye shes. Now 'Brog mi is said to have let Tibet for Nepal and India when Rin chen bzang po was nearly fifty years old,<sup>367</sup> that is to say around 1007 if Rin chen bzang po was born in 958, as his biography claims and Gzhon nu dpal accepts,<sup>368</sup> and then, after spending one year in Nepal with Śāntibhadra<sup>369</sup> and eight at Vikramaśīla with Ratnākaraśānti,<sup>370</sup> to have studied with Prajñendraruci for three or four,<sup>371</sup> that is to say, therefore, c. 1016–1020. If we accept that Durjayacandra is unlikely to have held such a senior post as that of the head Vajrācārya of Vikramaśīla in his youth and assume for the sake of argument that he was fifty-five when he began his tenure, then if that tenure began in 940, he would have to have been continuing to teach long after his retirement at sixty-seven in 952, and Prajñendraruci, if we take 945 as the latest plausible year of his birth, would have been about seventy when he accepted 'Brog mi as his pupil.

This scenario is not impossible; but neither is it comfortable. Nor is it helped by the fact that Prajñendraruci is reported to have collaborated with 'Brog mi on translations of texts pertaining to Hevajra and his consort Nairātmyā. This evidence is given in the colophons at the end of these translations<sup>372</sup> and should be considered more reliable than that of hagiographical biographies.

Even more difficult to reconcile is the report in the *Chos 'byung* of Pad ma dkar po (1527–1592) that Durjayacandra taught the Mantranaya at Vikramaśīla to the translator Rin chen bzang po.<sup>373</sup> For Rin chen bzang po is said to have left for India in 975, at the age of seventeen, and to have gone to Vikramaśīla only after a period of some seven years of education in Kashmir, therefore around 982. At that time Durjayacandra would have been nearly a hundred if we hold to the assumption that he began his tenure in 940 when he was fifty-five years of age.<sup>374</sup> It is probable, then, that while we are indeed closer to the truth if

we calculate back from the Door-keepers than forward from Buddhajñāna and Dipaṅkarabhadra, Tāranātha has placed the later teachers from Durjayacandra onwards too early.

This suspicion gains further support from what we know of the life of Tathāgatarakṣita. If Tāranātha's report were accurate, provided that we calculate backwards from the six Door-keepers, then he would have held office at Vikramaśīla c. 964–976. But we learn from the colophon of the Tibetan translation of his commentary on the *Yoginisamcāra* that he translated the work himself with the help of the Tibetan Ba ri Lo tsā ba Rin chen grags. This places his activity well into the second half of the eleventh century. For Ba ri Rin chen grags is said by Gzhon nu dpal to have been born in 1040.<sup>375</sup>

If Durjayacandra, as now seems probable, was active towards the end of the tenth century, and if Tāranātha is correct that there were no intervals between the tenures of his predecessors Jayabhadra, Śrīdhara, Bhavabhadra, Bhavyakīrti, and Līlāvajra, then we shall not be far from the truth if we assign them all these commentators on the *Laghuśaṃvara* to the tenth century.

Beyond the *terminus* provided by this tentative dating of the earliest commentators we have no clear knowledge of the date of these Tantras. It has been claimed by DAVIDSON that the *Laghuśaṃvara* was already in existence in the eighth century since Vilāsavajra cites it several times in his commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*,<sup>376</sup> and this view has recently been repeated by GRAY.<sup>377</sup> The latter recognized that most of the former's claimed citations are actually not of the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* but of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, which Vilāsavajra cites as the *Śaṃvaratantra*, using the common abbreviation of this unwieldy title. But he argues that the date is established nonetheless by two places in the same commentary in which Vilāsavajra cites a *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* or *Cakraśaṃvratatantra*. This GRAY takes to be the *Laghuśaṃvara* under its commonly used *alias*. Both citations occur in a section of the commentary in which, explaining epithets found in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, Vilāsavajra follows each with *iti* and the name of a Tantra in the locative, indicating that the epithet is also found in that source. The first citation, GRAY claims, is of *Laghuśaṃvara* 2.16c (f. 2v6: *hastīcarmāvaruddhaṇi ca* 'and [his back] covered with the hide of an elephant'), and the second of 48.12a (f. 35r6: *kankāla mahākankāla*). In fact the first passage does not cite *Laghuśaṃvara* 2.16c, the text quoted being *gajacarmapaṭārdhradhṛk* 'wearing as his upper garment the moist hide of an

<sup>366</sup> *Zhib mo rdo rje*, pp. 86–88.

<sup>367</sup> *Blue Annals*, p. 205, ll. 26–31.

<sup>368</sup> *Blue Annals*, p. 68, ll. 3–6.

<sup>369</sup> *Zhib mo rdo rje*, p. 84, ll. 6–10; *Blue Annals*, p. 205, ll. 32–35.

<sup>370</sup> *Zhib mo rdo rje*, p. 86, l. 10; *Blue Annals*, p. 206, ll. 18–19.

<sup>371</sup> *Blue Annals*, p. 206, ll. 32–33 (three years); *Zhib mo rdo rje*, p. 88, ll. 7–8 (four years).

<sup>372</sup> Tōh. 1185, 1236, 1251, 1310.

<sup>373</sup> TUCCI 1988, p. 35.

<sup>374</sup> TUCCI 1988, pp. 3–4.

<sup>375</sup> *Blue Annals*, p. 211.

<sup>376</sup> DAVIDSON 1981, pp. 7–8.

<sup>377</sup> GRAY 2007, pp. 12–14.







*Laghuśaṃvara* was composed in that century, since none of the works is later than that time. But three considerations suggest a later date. (1) No text of the Cakrasaṃvara corpus, or any other Yoginītantra, was translated into Tibetan during the earlier diffusion of Buddhism (*snga dar*) that occurred from the eighth century to the middle of the ninth, during Tibet's imperial period: this new literature reached the Tibetans only during the later transmission (*phyi dar*), that began c. 1000. (2) Among the many surviving stone, metalwork, and painted Indian images of Śaṃvara none is demonstrably earlier than the tenth century.<sup>385</sup> Finally (3), there is, as we have seen, no evidence of commentatorial work on the *Laghuśaṃvara* before c. 900. Of course, none of these facts proves conclusively that the *Laghuśaṃvara* was not in existence at an earlier date. But they do incline one to consider a later date more probable. This is particularly so in the case of the absence of commentaries. The *Laghuśaṃvara* is so problematic text from the Buddhist point of view that it is hard to imagine that it could have survived for long without the support of learned exegesis.

Whatever its date, the *Laghuśaṃvara* is likely to be a product of the first phase of the development of the Yoginītantras, if not the earliest of them all. This surmise rests on the assumption that Yoginītantras that are less sophisticated in the sense that they show a less developed Mahāyāna Buddhist theo-

chen dang ni ga bur bcas | tsa ndan dmar por sbyar ba dag | tshogs kyi dbus su bzhaq pa ni | ra sa ya na kun slong ba | rang gi lha yo sbyor ldan pas | srin lag dang ni mthe bo'i rtses | zhi ba'i btung pa bzhin myangs na | rtag pa yi ni dngos grub thob (\*mahārakṣaṇa sakarpūṣaṇa raktacandanayojitam | svādhidaivatayogena sarvocchīṣarasāyanam | anānāṅguṣṭhavrakṣābhīṣam <+++++> | somapānavad āsvādya siddhim āpnoti śāśvatim); and (7) Lf. 12:6-7 (13.2): yad yad indriyamārgatvaṃ yātāt tat tat svabhāvataḥ | paramāhīlayogena sarvaṃ buddhamayaṃ vahet <SBSDJŚ as quoted in Caryāmēlapakapradīpa, p. 90: yad yad indriyamārgatvaṃ yātāt tat tat svabhāvataḥ | asamāhīlayogena sarvabuddhamayaṃ vahet.

<sup>385</sup> A Kashmirian Śaṃvara of leaded brass inlaid with copper and silver in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art from the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection appears to have been assigned by PAL to c. 725 in his catalogue of the exhibition 'The Arts of Kashmir' (2007, p. 91, fig. 92). However, he has kindly informed me (personal communication, 1 March, 2008) that this surprisingly early date is not his own but that of the museum (for which see <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org>) recorded on the loan agreement form. The lending museum insisted on this date and it was substituted for his own without consulting him. He had assigned it to 'ca. 9th century'. In an earlier publication (1975, p. 173, pls. 64a,b) he had proposed the tenth. REEDY (1997, p. 162, fig. K62) gives '9th-10th century'. LINROTHE (1999, p. 289, fig. 211) has found these dates too early and suggests the late tenth or early eleventh century. In the absence of a detailed art-historical demonstration of the date, which I suspect could in any case be no more than tentative given the small population of comparable pieces, I am inclined in the light of the other historical evidence to agree with LINROTHE.

retical framework are likely to be earlier than those in which the level of theoretical assimilation is more advanced. By this criterion the *Hevajra* must be placed after the *Laghuśaṃvara*. This also assumes that the development of the Mantranaya was not unilinear throughout, since if it were we would have to place the *Laghuśaṃvara* before the *Mahāvairocanaśāmbodhi*, *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, *Guhyasamāja*, and *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*. It assumes, then, that the Yoginītantras represent a new phase with its own humble beginning, and that it was only later in this phase that the tradition got up to speed, as it were, by fully integrating the new world of practice whose entry marks its commencement by providing it with a thoroughly Buddhist encoding. While it is possible that this assimilation of the text began long after its first redaction it seems more probable in the absence of firm evidence to the contrary that if so problematic a creation were to have remained for long without the benefit of learned exegesis it would be likely to have disappeared without trace.

As for the provenance of the *Laghuśaṃvara*, it was certainly eastern India, the region in which most of the Indian learned exegesis of this Tantric corpus was produced. The Tantra does not state this explicitly. Claiming the status of revelation it would have been averse to doing so. Nonetheless, it reveals its provenance in spite of itself by giving BA in its encoding of some of the syllables of Mantras where correct Sanskrit requires VA. This is evidently an effect of the fact that *va* is pronounced *ba* in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars of this region.<sup>386</sup> Thus 5.4 yields BHAGABATE rather than BHAGAVATE: *pañcamasya yac caturthaṃ prathamasya tṛtīyam | trayoṣṭhas tathaiva ca caturthasya yañ prathamam* (f. 5r3-4) 'the fourth of the fifth [class of consonants] (BHA), the third of the first (GA), the twenty-third (BA), and the first of the fourth (T-Y; and 30.20-21 yields BHAGABĀM rather than BHAGAVĀM (for BHAGAVĀN): *koṣṭhakaḍ daśamaṃ caiva vilomena tu sūdhakaḥ | koṣṭhakaḍ ekonaviṃsatimaṃ tathā trayoṣṭhasatikoṣṭhakaḍ | dvitīyakoṣṭhasamuktam bindunā ūrdhvaḥbhiṣitam* (f. 23v4-5) 'The Sādhaka should select the tenth counting backwards from the compartment [of HA] (BHA), the nineteenth from that [of A] (GA), and the [letter] from the twenty-third box (B-) together with [the letter in] the second box adorned above with a dot (ĀM)'.

Variant readings giving the correct spellings in these cases are found. In 5.4 Jayabhadra and Bhavabhāṭṭa read *ekonnaviṃśa-* (sic) and *ekonaviṃśati* 'the twenty-ninth' (VA) rather than the *trayoṣṭha-* 'the twenty-third' (BA) seen in the Baroda manuscript; and this reading is also found in the Tibetan translation (*de bzhin nyi shu tsa dgu la [= ekonaviṃśam tathaiva ca]*) and the redaction

<sup>386</sup> This is so in Bihārī, Maithilī, Bengali, Kumāunī, Nepālī, Assamese, and Oṛiyā.



of this passage in *Paṭala 54* of the *Abhidhānottara* (A f. 166r3: *ekonnatrinśam tathaita ca*). Likewise in 30.21 we find Jayabhadra giving *ekonnatrinśati* (VA) in place of the reading *trayaviṃśati* (BA) attested by the manuscript, but here the 'incorrect' reading is also supported by the Tibetan translation and the commentary of Bhavabhāṭṭa. There can be little doubt that the non-standard readings giving BA rather than VA are original. For it is not surprising there should have been attempts to correct an original BA to VA, whereas it would be most unlikely that any redactor would have made the effort to rewrite a reading that gave VA in order to yield BA.<sup>267</sup>

Also indicative of the east-Indian provenance and development of this corpus are the form *chamḍoḥa* in place of *saṃdohā*,<sup>268</sup> and the pervasive promiscuity of the forms *-śamvara*- and *-saṃvara*- in the names of its deity, in the title of the primary Tantra, and in the compound in which this form is preceded by *ḍākinījāla*- or *yoginījāla*-. I use the forms *Śamvara* and *Cakrasamvara*. *Laghusamvara* and *Cakrasamvara* here in keeping with the usual Tibetan translations, namely bDe mchog and 'Khor lo sdom pa; and this accords with semantic analyses of these names and titles in the Sanskrit commentators. Thus Bhavabhāṭṭa explains the second element of the second in the sense 'he who restrains' from the the verb *saṃvṛt*-, and construes the whole to mean 'he who by means of the wheel (*cakra*-) [of the Dharma] restrains [the minds of living beings from the wrong path] (*-saṃvaraḥ*)' (*\*cakreṇa saṃvṛnotiti cakrasamvaraḥ*), telling us further that the name is attested to the Tantra because this deity is its subject.<sup>269</sup> As for the form *Śamvara*, that too is widely supported.

<sup>267</sup> It is not probable that the *Laghusamvara* was alone among the Yoginītantras in being of east-Indian origin. We see the same tell-tale D- for V- in 14.27-28 of the *Catupīṭha*, the Mantra syllables YADAVE being encoded there as RAḌE. Moreover, it is probable that the Apabhraṃśa seen in some verses of the *Herajra* is of the eastern variety. This is suggested by the nom. sg. endings *-āḥ* and *-āḥa* in *kibidāḥ* in 2.4.6 and *hūṭānāḥa* in 2.4.67; see TAGARE 1987, p. 110-111. An investigation of the language of the Apabhraṃśa verses that are found in such Yoginītantras as the *Herajra*, *Khasama*, *Catupīṭha*, and *Dakṛpava*, in comparison with that of the *Dohā* collections of Kāṇha and Śaraḥa, may be expected to shed more light on this question of provenance.

<sup>268</sup> See here p. 180.

<sup>269</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasamvarapañjikā*, explaining the title with the prefixed honorific Śrī- when it occurs in the final colophon in the words *śrīcakrasamvaranāmnī mahāyoginītantrārājā* 'in the great king among the Yoginītantras called *śrīcakrasamvara*' in the final colophon: *śrīḥ puṇyayānaśaṃbhārāḥ [cakreṇa dharmasakram] [śrīmac cakram] śrīcakram [tena kāpatāḥ sōttānāṃ manāḥ saṃvṛnotiti śrīcakrasamvaraḥ] śrīherakāḥ [śrīśābhidhāyitvāt tantram api tāthogate]* The word Śrī- 'glory' denotes the accumulating of [both] merit and gnosis. The word *-cakra*- 'wheel' refers to the wheel of the Dharma. It is prefixed by Śrī to express the fact that it [i.e., that is to say, the teaching of the Buddha,] entails this [provisioning with both merit and

Ratnākaraśānti explains it as meaning 'the Highest (*param*) Bliss' (*śam*) when analysing its occurrence in the neuter in the compound *ḍākinījālaśamvaraḥ*,<sup>270</sup> and Bhavabhāṭṭa when analysing its occurrence in the masculine gender at the end of the same (*ḍākinījālaśamvaraḥ*) takes it to mean 'Heruka, [who] protects Bliss (*śam* *vṛnotiti śamvaraḥ*) [by keeping it free of all defects].'<sup>271</sup> This line of analysis, which applies a meaning of *śam* that is well-attested in non-sectarian lexicography,<sup>272</sup> is not the invention of these commentators. They draw on the authority of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, which refers to its deity Vajrasattva as *Śamvara* and explains that name as meaning 'the who has/is the] Highest Bliss'.<sup>273</sup> That the *-śamvara* form is not only old but also original is established

gnosis). Heruka is called Śrīcakrasamvara [here] because he restrains [*saṃvṛnotiti śamvaraḥ*] by means of this [wheel, in the sense that he restrains] the minds of living beings from the false path. [This] Tantra has the same name because it is that which refers to him'.

<sup>270</sup> Ratnākaraśānti, *Mahāmāyāṭīkā* on 23d: *śamvaram sukhavarāṇa mahāsukham* '[śam means 'bliss' and -varam 'best'. So] *śamvaram* means 'the best bliss' (*sukhavaram*) [i.e., 'the Great Bliss' (*mahāsukham*)]. The same analysis is tacitly given in such parallel expressions as *ḍākinījālaśamsukham* in *Samvarodaya* 3.6d and 26.10cd; and *Vajradāka* 1.1cd: *sarvadhākinīmāyāḥ sattvo vajradākaḥ param sukhāḥ*; 1.12cd, 1.50, 1.71cd: *sarvadhākinīsāmāyogavajradākaḥ param sukhāḥ*.

<sup>271</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasamvarapañjikā* on 1.2: *ḍākinī śūnyatā. jālam upāyāḥ [jālena hi matsyāḍibandhanasiddhiḥ] upāyena hi kleśaminādir niyamāyāmeitakarāḥ kriyate [tābhāṃ śam sukhāḥ avadyebhyo bahiḥkṛtya vṛnotiti ḍākinījālaśamvaraḥ]* [The meaning of the name] *ḍākinījālaśamvara* [applied to Heruka here] is 'he who protects (-varaḥ [*vṛnotiti varaḥ*]) bliss (*śam*) by means of the *ḍākinī* and the Net (*jālam*). The term *ḍākinī* [here] means 'Emptiness' [the fact that [all things] are void of intrinsic reality] (*śūnyatā*); and the term 'Net' refers to the method (*upāyāḥ*) [i.e., namely the compassion (*karuṇā*) that must accompany awareness of that Emptiness]. It is called a net [metaphorically]. For by using a net one succeeds in catching fish and other creatures. [Likewise] by employing the method [that is compassion] one restrains and so renders incapable of activity the 'fish and other creatures' that are the afflictions (*kleśāḥ*), namely attachment, hatred and the rest]. He protects bliss by means of these two [emptiness and compassion], in the sense that through these he protects it from [those] defects'.

<sup>272</sup> See, e.g., Hemacandra, *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, *Parīṭikāṇḍa* 21a: *śam kalyāṇe sukhe 'tha; Vardhamāna, Gaṇaratnamahodadhīrti*, p. 39, on 1.15: *śam duḥkhopaśame; Yūska, Nighaṇṭubhāṣya*, p. 521 (on *R̥veda* 5.4.5: *śam no bhavantu vājinaḥ*): *sukhāḥ no bhavantu vājinaḥ*.

<sup>273</sup> *Saṃg* *rgyas thams cad mnyam par shyor ba*, f. 154r6-7 (L.10): *śam zhes bya ba bde bar bshad | saṃg* *rgyas kun gyi bde chen yin | sgyu ma thams cad rab shyor ba | mchog tu bde bas bde ba'i mchog (sukhāḥ śam iti vikhyātāṃ sarvabuddhāṃ mahāsukhāḥ [sarvājālasamāyogāḥ sukhavarāṇa śamvaraḥ])* The word *śam* means 'bliss', the Great Bliss of all the Buddhas. He is *Śamvara* because of [the fact that he possesses] the highest degree of [this] bliss'. The Sanskrit of the first half of this verse is supported by its citation by Vilāsavajra while explaining the epithet *mahāsukhāḥ* in his *Nāmanāntrārthāvalokinī*, f. 57v1-2: *mahāsukha iti śrīśamvare | tātra mahāsukha iti yāt tāthāgatam anāraṇyaṃ sukhāḥ tan mahāsukha ity u-cyate | tātraitvāṃ sukhāḥ śam iti vikhyātāṃ sarvabuddhāṃ mahāsukhāḥ iti*.



by evidence outside the Buddhist corpus. For Yoginijālaśaṃvara is found as the name of a Bhairava in one of the secondary Kalpas taught in the Śākta Śaiva *Picumata*,<sup>394</sup> which, as we shall see, was a major unacknowledged source for the redactor of the *Laghuśaṃvara*. That the form intended there is -śaṃvara- rather than -saṃvara- is certain, because the text provides a semantic analysis that takes the first syllable to mean bliss (*sukham*).<sup>395</sup>

However, these are not the only views. Jayabhadra, commenting on 1.2 of the *Laghuśaṃvara*, takes the same expression to be *Ākinijālaśaṃvara*, understanding it to refer to the *Laghuśaṃvara* itself and explaining it as 'The Concealment of the Array of Ākinis', deriving the last element of the compound from *saṃur-* 'to envelop';<sup>396</sup> and while the Tibetans usually render the

The first Pāda is also supported by Bhavabhūta, who quotes it without attribution, when explaining *Ākinijālaśaṃvaram* in *Laghuśaṃvara* 1.2: *saṃ sukham iti cākhyātam iti vacanāt*.

<sup>394</sup> Yoginijālaśaṃvara in this text is a form of Bhairava and the term refers by extension to his Mantra and the associated system of practice (*vratam*). See *Picumata* f. 251r5-v1 (56.4c-6b): *śṛṇu devī pravakṣyāmi sarvaṃyogiprasāddhanam | yōgamāntrasamopetaṃ yoginijālaśaṃvaram | yena vijñātamātṛeṇa trailokye khecrapadam | āśādyā kṛdāte mantri kulāsiddhisamanvitaḥ* 'Listen, O Devī. I shall teach you about Yoginijālaśaṃvara together with the deities with whom he is to be worshipped (yōga-) and his Mantra, as the means of propitiating the Yoginis. As soon as the Mantra adept has mastered this he will reach the domain of the Khecaris and move freely through the triple universe, possessing [all] the supernatural powers of the [Yoginī] clans'.

<sup>395</sup> *Picumata* f. 251v2-3 (56.12-13b): *samūhaṃ jālam ity uktam yoginīnām mahodayam | saṃ sukham vara dātṛtvā<t> \*samūhatvauivaśayā (samūhatva em.: samūhatvaṃ Cod.) | \*yogeśiyogabhāvasthaṃ (yogeśiyoga conj.: yōgyogēśia Cod.) yoginijālaśaṃvaram | mantram tu kalthitaṃ devī bhairavasyāmitātmakam* 'The expression Yoginijāla [in Yoginijālaśaṃvara] means the exalted totality of the Yoginis, jālam 'net' denoting 'multitude' [here]. The *saṃ* of -śaṃvara means 'bliss' (*sukham*). The Yoginijālaśaṃvara[mantra] is so named because it is the bestower (-vara) of that bliss, [-vara- being formed as an agent noun from the verb *ur-* 'to give']. It is the grantor of this bliss to the Yoginijāla in as much as it is located in the inner state of 'the Yoga of the Yogeśvaris, the plurality of these being intended in the sense of their totality (conj.). The Mantra of Bhairava [that bears this name] is infinite [in its power]'.

<sup>396</sup> Jayabhadra, *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* on 1.1-2b (athāto rahasyaṃ vakṣye samāsān na tu vistarāt | śrīherukasam'yogaṃ sarvakāmārthasādhakam | uttarād api cottaram ākinijālaśaṃvaram 'Next I shall teach the secret, in brief rather than at length, the congress of Śrīheruka, the accomplisher of all desires, the *Ākinijālaśaṃvara*, higher even than the higher'): *uttarād api cottaram iti deśyadeśakayor abhedāt | yāny uttaratantrāṇi samājādnī teṣāṃ apy uttaratvād uktam | ākinijālaśaṃvaram iti | ākinīyah sarvās trīcakrayavasthitāḥ | tāsām jālaḥ samūhas tasya saṃvaraḥ | saṃvaranaṃ gopanam ity arthaḥ* 'It is referred to as higher even than the higher because it is higher even than the Tantras [of the Yogottara class] headed by the [Guhya]samāja, which are 'higher' because the difference between teacher and the taught is absent [in them]. As for [the title] *Ākinijālaśaṃvara*, it means the concealing of the net, that is to say, of the totality of all the Ākinis that are established

Cakra- name 'Khor lo sdom pa and so support the form Cakrasaṃvara, we also find 'Khor lo bde mchog in their translations, which supports the alternative Cakrasaṃvara.<sup>397</sup>

The reason for this inconstancy is evidently that *śa* and *sa* are both pronounced as *śa* in Bengali, as they were in the Māgadhī Prakrit of the dramatists.<sup>398</sup> Consequently, instead of attempting to decide which form is correct we should recognize that for the east-Indian followers of this tradition there was in effect only one word here (*śaṃvara*/saṃvara), which could be understood either as 'the highest (-vara- [Tib. mchog]) bliss (śam [Tib. bde])' or as 'fusion' and the like by derivation from the verbal root *ur* preceded by the preverb *saṃ*. That this was the case is demonstrated by a passage in the *Saṃvarodaya* in which the two semantic analyses, explaining *śaṃvara*- and *saṃvara*-, respectively, are given for one and the same word.<sup>399</sup>

ŚAṂVARA/VAJRARUDRA AND VAJRĀVĀRĪHĪ: THE TRANSFORMATION OF BHĀIRAVA AND HIS CONSORT. What marks the new start seen in the Yoginī-tantras is a far more comprehensive adoption of the practices of the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha texts, to the extent that there is little in the observances of these texts that does not draw on that source. Heruka is now paired with a lustful consort (Vajravārīhī in the Cakrasaṃvara texts and Nairātmyā in those of Hevajra), and in the case of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, so are the principal Yoginis of his retinue, a feature that matches the practice of the Vidyāpīṭha's *Picumata* (*Brahmayāmala*). Moreover, in the case of the tradition elaborated on the basis of the *Laghuśaṃvara* the icon of Heruka has several blatantly obvious features of the iconography of Śiva (Bhairava) in addition to those manifest in

in the three circuits [of the Maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara], *saṃvaraḥ* being derived from the verb *saṃur-* 'to conceal' in the sense of the action of concealing'.

<sup>397</sup> In the DT 'Khor lo sdom pa (cakraśaṃvara-) occurs about 250 times and 'Khor lo bde mchog (cakraśaṃvara-) about 100; see, e.g., DT, Rgyud 'grel, vol. cha, f. 242v3 ('Khor lo bde mchog gi gzugs can); vol. ja, f. 58v7 ('Khor lo bde mchog gi rgyud), and f. 102r7 ('Khor lo bde mchog gi sngags).

<sup>398</sup> See, for Māgadhī, Vararuci, *Prākṛtaprakāśa* 11.2: *pasoh śah 'ś* is used in place of both *ś* and *s'*. Generally in Middle and New Indo-Aryan the three Sanskrit sibilants have been reduced to *s*. It has been reported that in the Tantric Buddhist *Dohā* texts, composed in what has been called Eastern Apabhraṃśa, *ś* has been preserved in derivatives of words that have it in Sanskrit (TAGARE 1987, p. 77). It is true that a few such forms are found in the manuscripts (SHAHIDULLAH 1928, p. 37), but there are many cases in which *ś* does not appear, such as *suṇṇa* for Skr. *śūnya*. It is likely that the occasional distinction between *ś* and *s* was learned window-dressing and that both consonants were pronounced *s*.

<sup>399</sup> *Saṃvarodaya* 3.17c-19b: *saṃvaraṃ sarvabuddhānām evaṃkāre pratiṣṭhitam || kāyābhūketasām karma sarvākāraikaśaṃvaram | saṃvaraṃ sukhavaram bodhir avācyam anidarśanam || rahasyaṃ sarvabuddhānām milanaṃ saṃvaraṃ varam*.



The features of Śiva's iconography evident here are the trident, the third eye, the new moon on the piled up braids, the tiger-skin lower garment, the multiple faces and arms, the skull-bowl, the skull-staff, the bleeding elephant hide, the severed head of Brahmā, the snake as brahmanical thread, the sharp fangs, the chaplet of skulls, his dwelling in the cremation grounds, and the ashes

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<sup>430</sup> This description of Heruka and Vajravāhī follows that given by Jayabhadra in his *Cakrasaṃvaraṇāṭhikā*, p. 109, on *Laghusaṃvara* 1.10, for the iconography of the Yoginīs and Viras see Bhavabhāṭṭa's *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* on *Laghusaṃvara*, Pataḷa 4 (vol. 1, pp. 44–47). See also *Nispannayaṅgyadīpa*, pp. 26–29.

\_\_\_\_\_ in the subcontinent, including those on coins.

<sup>401</sup> For a recent analysis of Śiva images in the subcontinent, including those from the first century B.C. to the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, see GHOSH 2002, pp. 70–96.

402 KREISEL 1986 (Mathura, c. 400), p. 82; BAKKER 1997, pp. 149–151 (Mansar, c. 400–450).

432 KREISEL 1936 (Māhātmya, 1.1.111-112): 400-450).

433 *Mahābhārata* 3.8.111a (*triśūlapāṇah*); 13.14.119 (*bāṇendumukutaṃ ...tribhir ne-  
traiḥ kṛtyodyotaṃ*), 12.12.24b (*śūlajātādharah*), 7.172.59c (*jāṭamāṇḍalacandra-  
maulim*), 12.12.24a (*śūlajātādharah*); 14.8.30d (*mahā-  
śūlajātādharah*).

<sup>434</sup> See, e.g., *Mahābhārata* 13.127.18a (syāghracarmāmbara<sup>435</sup>darahā); 14.8.30d (*mahā* deva<sup>436</sup> caturmukham); 13.14.116c (*astāsadbhujam śhāpam*); 14.8.28a (*virūḍhā kṣam dasabhuja*); 13.17.40a (*dasabhuja to anmiso*); 12.36.2c (*astāsadbhujam*); 13.15.11d (*utsaṇḍamgṛam ... yāla* *khvāṇḍam*); 10.7.4d (*khvāṇḍagadhūriyā*); 13.15.11d (*utsaṇḍamgṛam ... yāla* *yajñopavitaṁ*); 14.8.21a (*utsaṇḍamgṛāya karūḷya*); 10.6.33c (*kāpāmalīnam*); 10.7.4a (*smāśuvāsinām*); 13.14.15c (*śukhānāmāvalīpitya*).

107.4a (*smaśānavāsīnam*): 13.14.153c (*kūlabhaṣamaccapūṭraya*).  
Meghaduta 36c: *hara paśupater ārdraṇājñāneccha*. Remove Śiva's desire for fire  
[blood]-wet elephant hide; Kumāresambhava 5.67d: *gaḥjājanam śonitabandharā-*  
ca [this] elephant hide that showers drops of blood; 5.77b: *trilokanātha-*  
*pitrādamaśocarah* The Lord of the Three Worlds frequents cremation grounds  
5.69c, 5.79b: *citābhasmarajah* 'the ash-dust of funeral pyres'; and 5.71b: *kṛpālina-*  
'decked with skulls'. Rudra/Śiva frequently has the epithet *kṛttivasas*- 'wearer  
the hide' in the Mahābhārata. The Matsyapurāṇa (Pātala 153) relates that this  
hide of the elephant demon Gaḥsura killed by Śiva in a great battle between  
the gods and the Asuras. How the elephant hide was understood when incorporated  
into the iconography of Heruka is not stated in most instances of its mention. But  
in two Kalpas in the Abhidhānottara, those of Samayaśaṃvara and the Heruka  
the *cakratriviḍhanam*, it is said to be that of the elephantine Saiva-Brahmanical d-  
ity Ganapati (B f 34v1: *aparabhujadavyena gaṇapatīcarmāmbara*dharah) (cor-  
dharis Cod.) and B f 40v2-3: *aparabhujadavyena gaṇapatīcarmāmbaradhara*) (cor-  
reinstated with in-

<sup>436</sup> There is a reference to it in a supplementary passage of 26 verses inserted within



*Ambikākhaṇḍa*,<sup>407</sup> probably composed in the sixth or perhaps the first half of the seventh century.<sup>408</sup> Other features in addition to these, namely the garland of severed or desiccated heads, the chopping knife, the rattle-drum, the Kāpālika bone-ornaments, the consort, the skull-bowl full of blood and entrails, the retinue of Yoginīs, their pairing with Vira consorts, the sacred sites, the theriocephalic gate-guardians, and the encircling cremation grounds, are commonplaces of the iconography of the Vidyāpīṭha texts. Only the Vajras place a Buddhist seal on the icon.

The image, then, has every appearance of representing a Buddhist transformation of Śiva himself in his Bhairava aspect. Indeed in his commentary on the *Laghuśaṃvara* Jayabhadra refers to this Heruka as Vajrarudra, that is to say, as Śiva/Bhairava converted and liberated by assimilation into the essence of Buddha-hood,<sup>409</sup> thereby definitively surrendering and transcending his Śaiva identity. In clear expression of this transcendence Heruka/Vajrarudra and Vajravārāhi are depicted and visualized standing on the sprawling, terrified bodies of a black Bhairava and a red, emaciated Kālārātri, their own pre-Buddhist identities as the principal deities of the Vidyāpīṭha.<sup>410</sup>

hymn to Śiva (13.14.150–166) after 13.14.163 in the Maithilī and Bengali versions, the Devanāgarī version of the commentator Nilakaṇṭha, in several manuscripts of the composite version, and the Kumbhakonam edition (*Anuśāsanaparvan*, Appendix I, no. 6, l. 45): *brahmaśiropahartāya* [obeisance] to the remover of Brahmā's head'.

<sup>407</sup> 51–63 (ed. Adriaensen, Bakker, and Isaacson, pp. 132–141).

<sup>408</sup> See here p. 51.

<sup>409</sup> Jayabhadra, *Cakrasaṃvara* pāñjikā on Paṭala 12: *kṛtapūrvasevo mantrirāṭ iti vajrarudrayogavān* 'When the king among Mantra adepts has completed the preparatory service (pūrvaseva), that is to say, when he has achieved a state of complete identification with Vajrarudra ...', and on Paṭala 27: *jñānāhetujam iti jñānasya prakāśaparyantam* | *tasya hetuḥ kārṇaṇaṁ bhagavān vajrarudrah* | *tasmā jāto bhavattī arthaḥ jñānāhetujam* means born from the cause of knowledge, where knowledge is wisdom's ultimate degree and its cause is Lord Vajrarudra'. Vajrarudra appears already in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* in a passage that associates the nine dramatic sentiments (*rasaḥ*) with Vajrasattva, Tathāgata, Vajradhara, Lokeśvara, Vajrasūrya, Vajrarudra, Śākyamuni, Ārali (or perhaps Ārali), and Śāśvata (Vairocana) respectively. Vajrarudra's is the sentiment of terror (*bhāyanakarasāḥ*) and it is probable therefore that we should understand Vajrarudra to be Heruka. *Sangs rgyas thams cad mnyam par sbyor ba* f. 128r3: *rdo rje sems dpa' steg pa la* | *dpa' la dpa' bo de bzhin gshegs* | *rdo rje 'dzin pa snying rje la* | *rgod pa 'jig rten dbang phyug mehog* | *rdo rje nyi ma khro ba la* | *rdo rje drag po 'jigs pa* | *lā shā hya thub pa mi edug la* | *ngo mtshar la n a ra li* | *rab tu zhi la sangs rgyas rtag* (\**śṛṅgare vajrasattvo hi vire caiva tathāgataḥ* | *vajradhṛk karuṇāyām tu hāsyē caiva lōkeśvarāḥ* | *vajrasūryas tathā raudre vajrarudro bhāyanāke* | *śākyamunis tu bibhatsē āralīr adbhute tathā* | *praśānte śāśvataś caiva*).

<sup>410</sup> Kālārātri here is the fearsome emaciated goddess variously called Carcā, Carcikā, Cāmudā, and Kārpamotī; see here p. 231.

THE RISE OF THE GODDESS TO INDEPENDENCE. Here Heruka's consort is visibly his dependent: while he has four faces and twelve arms she has only one and two. But in the subsequent development of this tradition we find a strongly Śākta tendency to elevate her to equality with Heruka and eventually to superiority, just as occurred in the development of the Vidyāpīṭha.<sup>411</sup> Thus in certain other Kalpas in which Heruka is united with Vajravārāhi at the centre of the Maṇḍala her status is raised by endowing her with four faces and four or more arms. This is the case in the Kalpa of the sixth Paṭala of the *Abhidhānottara*, which teaches what it calls the *ekaviraividhānam*, the procedure in which the two deities alone are worshipped as 'solitary heroes' (*ekavira-*), that is to say, without the the retinue of the thirty-six Yoginīs and twenty-four Viras. Here Heruka has twelve arms and Vajravārāhi four, holding a blood-filled skull-bowl, a chopping-knife raised aloft with the gesture of threat, a rattle-drum, and a skull-staff. But both have four faces.<sup>412</sup> In the seventh Paṭala a two-faced, six-armed Vajrasattva transforms into a six-faced, twelve-armed Heruka Mañjuvajramahāsukha accompanied by a Vajravārāhi who has the same number of faces and arms and holds the same attributes in her hands. Brahmā's severed head is absent here, but Brahmā himself is not: his slayed skin takes the place of the elephant hide; and in place of a tiger skin we see that of Bhairava.<sup>413</sup> We see the same equality in the tenth Paṭala, where both Heruka and Vajravārāhi are five-faced and ten-

<sup>411</sup> See SANDERSON 1988, pp. 668–678.

<sup>412</sup> *Abhidhānottara* B f. 40r3: *athānya <ṇ> sampravakṣyāmi ekaviraividhānam* | ... (f. 40r6) *śrīherukam ātmānaṁ bhāvayet* | *caturmukhaṁ dvādasabhujam* | ... (f. 41r1–3) *tasyagrato ālikālisthitaḥ bhagavatt vajravārāhī raktavarṇa caturvaktṛ caturbhujā trinetṛaḥ muktakēṣṭhī* | *naṣṇā khaṇḍamāṇḍitamekhaṇḍā* | *vāme bhujālinganakapālāṁ ca duṣṭamāreṣṭyagrbodhicittaparipūrṇam dakṣiṇe tarjanīvajrakartikā* | *aparabhujādāyogē damarukhaṭṭāṅga <ṇ>*. The retinue is absent only in the sense that the deities are not positioned around Heruka and Vajravārāhi. Instead the twenty-four Yoginī-Vira couples are installed from the head of Heruka down to his feet, and the four Yoginīs of the innermost circuit and the eight of the outermost are installed in the twelve objects in his hands.

<sup>413</sup> *Abhidhānottara* B f. 50v5–8: *tatparavṛtṭiā sadāraṇaṁ vajrasattvaṁ vibhāvayet* | *trimukhaṁ saḍbhujam caiva trinetraṁ karuṇārasam* | ... (ff. 52v5–53r3) *anena codito nātho bījaṁ utpannam uttamam* | *kunkumākharavarnābhaṁ vajracinnasamutthitam* | \**śaṇmukhaḥ* (corr.: *khaṇmukhaḥ* Cod.) *dvādasabhujam* | *vārāhyasamalanakṛtam* | \**śoḍa* (f) *olramahāvīraṁ ardhaparyāṅkasamsthitam* | *trinetraṁ hasitaṁ raudraṁ karālāṁ bibhatsā* | \**lelihanānam* (em.: *lelihanālam* Cod.) *karuṇārasam* | *bhairavaṁ kālārātriṁ ca pādākrāntatāle sthitam* | *athavāliḥgasamsthānakṛtayoḡam* | \**mahādbhutam* (conj.: *mahādbhūtam* Cod.) | ... (f. 53r5–v2) \**brahmaṇaḥ* (em.: *brāhmaṇa* Cod.) *kṛttim utkrṭiā pṛṣṭhapravṛtṭiavīgraham* | *raudrabhairavacarmēna* \**kaṭim* (corr.: *kaṭīr* Cod.) *āveṣṭiā samsthitam* | *kapālākhṭāṅgadharā <ṇ>* | *asi-utpālāsāradhārinam* | *anūśāpāsādamarumūṇḍa-cāpadharam* | *tathā* | *tadvaktṛyudhavarāhyā mahāraḡapade sthitiā* | *jāṅghāḍṭaya-samāśliṣṭiā mahāsuratā* | \**sundari* (corr.: *suṇḍharā* Cod.) | *mūṇḍasragḍamadehograḡaṇmudrācinhabhūṣitā* | *evaṁ bhāvayate yogī mañjuvajramahāsukham*.



armed,<sup>414</sup> and in the eleventh, where a six-faced, twelve-armed Heruka wearing the flayed skin of Rudra on his back embraces a twelve-armed Vajravārāhi,<sup>415</sup> and in the twentieth, in which a red five-faced and twelve-armed Heruka embraces a Vajravārāhi with same colour and hand-attributes.<sup>416</sup>

The literature also teaches Kalpas in which Vajravārāhi is worshipped in her own right in the centre of a circuit or circuits of Yoginis. She may be one-faced and two-armed, as when she is worshipped as Heruka's consort, standing in the warrior pose at the centre of the circle of the eight cremation grounds, naked, red and menstruating, her face contorted with anger, with large fangs, three red eyes, wearing a chaplet of five skulls framed by two rows of Vajras, with crossed Vajras on her unbound hair, wearing a garland of fifty heads, which are not desiccated, as they are when she is Heruka's consort, but, like his, freshly severed and dripping blood. She holds aloft a red Vajra in her left hand with her index extended, a skull-bowl full of blood in her right, and a long white skull-staff resting in the crook of her left arm. She may possess, as before, only the first five of the six Mudrās; but some emphasized her pre-eminence by requiring that since she is now the central deity of the Maṇḍala she should also be smeared with ashes. She is surrounded by the thirty-six Yoginis, disposed as in the Maṇḍala of Heruka, but with the difference that the Yoginis, like her, wear garlands of freshly severed heads,<sup>417</sup> or by only the inner circuit of four, or with no retinue

<sup>414</sup> *Abhidhānottara* B ff. 71r3-72v5: *vajrasattvaparaṣṭyā herukataṁ vibhāva-yeṭ | paścānāṁ dāśabhujā vārāhyasamānāṁ...* (f. 72v4-5) *tadvajra-  
bhujasamethānā* (corr.: *saṁsthānā* Cod.) *muktekā tu nagnikā vyāghraśarma-  
nivasanā khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhā | kapaḥamālini raudrā karuṇārasurivheḷā.*

<sup>415</sup> *Abhidhānottara* B ff. 79v3-80r6: *padvaktāṁ vīraṁ bībhātāṁ śṛṅgāśuśīṣāṁ  
rautram lilihānāṁ | paṇḍrāmudritāṁ dhaṁ nānābhāṇamaṇḍitam |  
vārāhyā \*tu samāpannā (em.: nuzamāpannā Cod.) jānuḍayasaṁveṣitā ... (f.  
80r2) *tadvajraśarmābaradharaṁ ... (f. 80r5-6) tadvajrabhujasamethānā mukte-  
kā tu nagnikā.**

<sup>416</sup> *Abhidhānottara* B ff. 113r3-v4: *herukākāraṁ ātmānāṁ dākinīyoparaṣṭam |  
mahogṛāṁ raktavapuṣāṁ paścāyānādhavodbhavaṁ | raktam nīlāṁ ca haritāṁ  
pīlāṁ śāntasitorḍhvakam | trinetrāṁ dvādaśabhujāṁ dīghapadaśaṁsthītāṁ |  
... (f. 113v3-4) *agrat vājravārāhyā tadvajraśarmābaradharaṁ.**

<sup>417</sup> This is the main Kalpa taught in the *Abhisamayamajñī* (pp. 131, l. 9-133, l. 1). I propose the following emendations and corrections to the text of the published edition: for *mithyā dṛṣṭiprahāṇā vīrtitānāṁ* (p. 131, l. 15) read *mithyā-  
dṛṣṭiprahāṇād vīrtitānāṁ*; for *cakrikhaṇḍalakaṇṭhikārucaḥakhaṇḍaṅga-  
mekhalāḥkhyapaṇḍamudrādharaṁ* (p. 131, l. 18) read *cakrikhaṇḍalakaṇṭhikārucaḥ-  
khaṇḍalakaṇṭhikāḥkhyapaṇḍamudrādharaṁ*; for *iti keci | maṇḍalanāyikāteṇa  
paṇḍrāmudritāṁ sy eke* read *iti maṇḍalanāyikāteṇa paṇḍrāmudritāṁ sy eke* (p.  
132, l. 3); for *vajravālidayamadhyākṛtā* read *vajravālidayamadhyākṛtā* (p.  
132, l. 9); and for *aṣṭavijñānāṁ nairātmāyāvarāpatveṇa* read *aṣṭavijñānāṁ  
nairātmāyāvarāpatveṇa* (p. 132, l. 12).

at all.<sup>418</sup>

There are other forms of this kind, among which one is particularly worthy of note because it shows her four-faced and twelve-armed like Heruka himself, his equal as it were or, rather, the fusion of both within her, since her fanged face is divided down the middle into a male half on her right and a female half on her left (*ardhanārīśvaramukhā*), a Śākta reflex of the well-known *Ardhanārīśvara* image of Śiva. She has the same hand-attributes as the twelve-armed Heruka except that the battle-axe and trident have gone, an elephant-goad has taken the latter's place. The hand that held the skull-staff now holds the skull-bowl, the skull-staff rests in the crook of that arm, and the two hands that are now free form the flame gesture (*jvālāmudrā*) on her forehead. The place of the elephant hide is taken by the flayed skin of a man. She holds the Vajra and bell in her crossed principal hands and turns them over each other in the gesture known as the revolving lotus (*kamādvartāḥ*). She is red, naked, and intoxicated with passion, adorned with all six Mudrās, the new moon and crossed Vajras on her hair, a chaplet of skulls above her forehead, and the bone-filigree around her hips. She dances wildly in the centre of her retinue, visualized at the moment that she stands with her left leg on the ground flexed at the knee and her right foot raised and placed on the inside of her left thigh with the right knee turned out. She is surrounded by the thirty-six Yoginis with the addition of the four goddesses Māmaki, Locanā, Tārā, and Pāṇḍaravāsīn of the *Guhyasamāja* Yogottara system. The four innermost goddesses have the heads of a lion, sow, elephant, and horse, and hold in their four hands the skull-bowl, skull-staff, head of Brahmā, and chopping-knife. Outside them are the four Yogottara goddesses, each at the centre of a lotus with six petals, six-armed and adorned with the six Mudrās. They hold in one of their two principal hands the symbol of the Tathāgata-family to which each belongs (a Vajra, a wheel, two crossed Vajras, and a lotus respectively) and in the other a bell, turning them over each other. In the other hands they hold a skull-bowl, the head of Brahmā, and a rattle-drum, with a skull-staff in the crook of the principal left arm. The twenty-four Yoginis of the sacred sites are placed in groups of six on the petals of these lotuses. They are four-armed, and hold the symbol of the Tathāgata-family of the Yogottara goddess on whose lotus they are placed, a skull-bowl, a skull-staff, and a rattle-drum. They wear chaplets of skulls and show only five of the six seals. Like the central goddess they are half male and half female (*ardhanārīśvaryaḥ*). All the goddesses in the Maṇḍala up to this point are naked and dancing. Outside them is the final circuit of eight Yoginis. The four in the four doors of the Maṇḍala, with the heads of a

<sup>418</sup> *Abhisamayamajñī*, p. 142, ll. 13-19.



crow, owl, dog, and sow, stand naked in the warrior-pose, dwarfish, with squinting eyes. The four in the corners have the heads of a buffalo, an ass, a camel, and a horse, and like all but the door-guardians, are visualized in the dance posture. All eight of these outer Yoginīs have the five Mudrās and chaplets of skulls, and are four-armed, holding a skull-bowl, the head of Brahmā in their left hands, and a chopping-knife and rattle-drum in their right.<sup>419</sup>

The cult of the independent goddess (Bhagavati) appears to have been a particularly vigorous development, to judge from the exceptionally large number of variant forms that emerged.<sup>420</sup> Within the earlier scriptural literature the *Abhidhānottara* contains several sections devoted to Sādhana of Vajravārāhi;<sup>421</sup> in the *Herukābhyaṅga* eleven of its forty-four chapters are devoted to her Mantras and their procedures;<sup>422</sup> and the section of the *Tanjur* devoted to the Cakrasaṃvara cycle (Tōh. 1403–1606) contains over sixty texts devoted to the varieties of her cult as Vajravārāhi or Vajrayoginī (Tōh. 1541–1606). Śākyarakṣita, a pupil of Abhayākara (1064–1125), after detailing the Sādhana of several of her forms in his *Abhisamayamañjarī*,<sup>423</sup> adds that these are but a few of the many that were current in his time.<sup>424</sup>

So it should be understood that in accordance with the various mentalities of those requiring to be trained there are countless traditions of the Goddess such as this, transmitted through the generations from teacher to pupil in accordance with the [founding] instruction of various Siddhas. What I have shown here is no more than an indicative fraction of the whole.

This Śākta trend is also evidenced in the practice of the Newars of the Kathmandu valley down modern times. For their ceremony of initiation before the Maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara is followed on the final day by initiation before

the Maṇḍala of Vajradevī (Vajravārāhi).<sup>425</sup> Nor was this confined to the sub-continent. In Tibet too Vajravārāhi/Vajrayoginī rose to a position of special honour, notably in the bKa' brgyud and Sa skya traditions, but also in later times among the dGe lugs pa, rNying ma pa, and Bon pos.<sup>426</sup>

There are other compilations, scriptural and secondary, that survive in Nepalese manuscripts but did not reach Tibet, which attest her prominence in the last phase of the Mantranaya: the *Vajravārāhikalpa*, of about three thousand verses, which interweaves the *Ḍākārṇava* and the *Samvarodaya*, and incorporates thirteen non-scriptural Sādhana texts of Vajravārāhi and one of Nairātmā, the consort of Hevajra;<sup>427</sup> the closely related *Yoginījāla*, of about one thousand verses; and the collection of forty-six Sādhana of Vajrayoginī known as the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā*.<sup>428</sup> Moreover, two texts devoted to the cult of this goddess were added to the canon of scripture received by the Tibetans. The first is the *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra*, a short work of three hundred verses counted among the explanatory Tantras of the *Laghuṣaṃvara* but consisting almost entirely of passages lifted from the *Sampūṭodbhava*, the *Abhidhānottara*, and the *Samvarodaya*,<sup>429</sup> and the second

<sup>425</sup> GELLNER 1992, pp. 273–279. His account of the ceremonies is based upon what he was told by the late Aśa Kaji Vajracarya (*ibid.*, p. 273). That the Cakrasaṃvara initiation is followed by a separate Vajradevī initiation is confirmed by the evidence of the *Dikṣāvidhi*, the manual in the Newari language that guides these rituals.

<sup>426</sup> See ENGLISH 2002, pp. xxii–xxvii.

<sup>427</sup> I have not yet undertaken a thorough analysis of the whole text. The interweaving that I report is of *Ḍākārṇava*, Paṭala 2–3 and *Samvarodaya* 2–3 in the first three Paṭalas. The *nidānaukyaṃ* of the *Samvarodaya* is borrowed with the substitution of *vārāhībhāṅga* for the *Samvarodaya*'s *yoginībhāṅga*. I have noted the incorporation of the following Sādhana texts (identified here with the numbers ascribed in BHATTACHARYA's composite *Sādhanaṃālā*): 217–218 in Paṭala 36, 219–225 in Paṭala 37, 226–228 and 231 in Paṭala 38.

<sup>428</sup> This is the title under which the work has been catalogued in TSUKAMOTO *et al.* 1989, p. 285. It is based, I surmise, on the colophon of the last Sādhana in this collection, the *Ḍākinīgūhyasamayāsādhana* of Anāgāyogin.

<sup>429</sup> The correspondences are as follows (S = *Sampūṭodbhava*; LŚ = *Laghuṣaṃvara*; AU = *Abhidhānottara*; SU = *Samvarodaya*): 1.5–6b = S 6.3.26–27b; 1.17 = S 6.3.44c–45b; 1.18ab = S 6.3.45cd; 1.20cd = S 6.3.46cd; 1.21 = S 6.3.47; 1.31 = S 6.3.39; 1.33–43b = S 6.4.40–50; 2.15 = LŚ 1.19; 2.17c–18 = S 6.3.2–3b; 2.24–27b = S 6.3.3c–6; 2.27cd = S 6.2.2ab and 6.3.7ab; 2.28–29 = S 6.2.2c–4b; 2.31–33b = S 6.2.4c–6b; 2.34–40 = S 6.2.6c–14; 2.43–44d = S 6.2.15c–16; 3.1–2 = S 6.2.27–28; 5.8–14 = S 6.3.11–17; 6.1–2 = SU 7.1–2; 6.3b–6b = SU 7.14c–17; 6.6c–12b = S 6.3.35–40b; 6.14–19b = S 6.3.40c–45; 6.23–30 = AU 14.58–65; 7.3–7 = S 6.3.19c–24; 8.3–5 = AU 3.8c–11b; 8.17c–18 = AU 16.2–3b; 8.20b = AU 16.3c; 8.20c = AU 16.4a; 8.21–22 = AU 16.4b–5; 8.24–37 = AU 16.6–19; 8.39–41 = AU 16.23–25; 9.1c–5 = AU 4.3–7b; 9.6–17a = AU 4.9–20b; 9.21–39a = AU 4.24–38f; 9.39c–41b = AU 4.42c–44b; 9.41c–44 = AU 4.39–42b; 9.45–51 ('47', '48' and '50' are Mantras) = AU 4.44c–46 (with the same Mantras); 9.52ab = AU 4.51ab; 9.54ab = AU 4.51cd; 10 = AU 50.

<sup>419</sup> This form is taught in *Abhidhānottara* II. 63v1–70r4 (Paṭala 9 in the enumeration of this manuscript), from which it entered the *Vārāhyabhūdaya*. A lightly adjusted version of this Kalpa is found in the collection of Sādhana of Vajravārāhi/Vajrayoginī that came to bear the title *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* in the colophons of later manuscripts; see ENGLISH 2002, pp. 54–59.

<sup>420</sup> See ENGLISH 2002 for an illustrated survey of these variants.

<sup>421</sup> Paṭala 12/9: Vārāhi Vajrayoginī (4-faced, 12-armed; *ardhanārīṣṭavarimukhā*); 22/19: Mṛtasamjivani (4-faced or 8-faced, 16-armed); 36/33: Vajravārāhi (3-faced and 6-armed or 6-faced and 12-armed, surrounded by Guhyottamā etc.); 37/34: Vajravārāhi surrounded by Yāminī etc.

<sup>422</sup> Paṭalas 6, 8–11, 23–24, 29–31, and 34.

<sup>423</sup> The *Abhisamayamañjarī* is ascribed to Śubhākarakṛpita in its sole edition. This is an error and goes against the evidence of the colophons of the manuscripts (ENGLISH 2002, p. 357, n. 6).

<sup>424</sup> *Abhisamayamañjarī*, p. 152: *taḍ 'evamādayaḥ* (em. : *evam ādaya* Ed.) *siddhopaḍeṣaparamparāyātā vinyāsayabhedād anantā bhāḡavatyā āmnāyā boddhavyāḥ | dīnāmram idaṃ darsitam*.







The pan-Indian topography of the Śākta Śaivas' sacred sites, their Pīṭhas, Kṣetras, Upakṣetras, Saṃdohas/Chandohas,<sup>436</sup> and the like, is also adopted. Two lists of such sites are found: one in the *Vajradāka* and the other in the *Laghūsaṃvara*.<sup>437</sup> Also adopted is the practice of visiting these sacred sites (*pīṭhabhramaṇam*)<sup>438</sup> in search of meetings with the Yoginīs/Dākinīs that are

Y : kuṇḍalikā N) kuṇḍalaṃ caiva \*rucakaṃ (Y : uraṃ N) ca \*śikhāmaṇiḥ (niḥ N : nim Y) | \*bhasma yajñopavitaṃ ca (Y : keśayajñopavitaṃ ca N) \*mudrā-  
śaṅkaṃ pracaṇṣate (Y : mudrā ete mahāvratāḥ [< mahāvrate]) The [Kāpālika]s teach that the six Mudrās are (1) the necklace, (2) the earrings, (3) the bracelets, (4) the hair-jewel, (5) ashes and (6) the sacred thread [made from human hair]'. This followed in Y by a second verse: *kapālaṃ aṭha khaṭvāṅgam upamudre prakīrtite | ābhīr mudratadehas tu na bhūya iha jāyate* 'The skull-bowl and skull-staff are called the sub-Mudrās. One whose body is sealed by these [eight] is not born again in this [world]'; *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Śaṅka* 3, f. 201v3: *duḥṭiṣṭam tu vratam vakye ghorakāpālārūpaṃ* <m> | *śire kapālamukutaṃ śiromālāvibhūṣitam | kare karṇau tathā pādau asthikhaṇḍair vibhūṣitau | vāme kapālaṃ khaṭvāṅgam tathā vai dakṣiṇe kare*. The six Mudrās minus the ashes, that is to say, the five of the Buddhist lists, are defined, but not numbered, in *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Śaṅka* 1, f. 139r1-3 (23.33-36b), in the order earrings, bracelets, hair-jewel, sacred thread of human hair, and necklace: *utrāṅgaṃ nṛpaśārdūla tantre 'smin bhairavāreite | śubhraśaṅkhe prakartavye dyaugūle karnike śubhe | \*rucake* (em. : *caruke* Cod.) *duyaṅgule śaṣṭe turyāṅguṣṭhāḥ śikhāmaṇiḥ | triṇṇarakaśatpānnas tripaṇcaśarikah samaḥ | kaṇṭhāj jaghanasaṃsparśi* ('Ja corr. : *jan* Cod.) *śaṣṭha pañcavato 'pi ca || svṛttamaṇisaṃghā'ta* (corr. : *taḥ* Cod.) *saṃghātaikāvalī samā | dhāryā sādhanacandrena śeṣabhūṭa tadīcha'yā* (em. : *gā* Cod.). The 80th chapter of the *Picumatā* describes, but does not number, (1) the hair-jewel, (2) earrings, (3) a necklace (*kaṇṭhamudrā*), (4) the sacred thread, and (5) ornaments of bone on hands, arms and hips. The last takes the place of the bracelets (*rucake*) listed elsewhere and in Vajrayānist texts (*Picumatā* ff.311v-312r): *cūḍamaṇikapālena śikhāyāṃ yu nirveśitaḥ | īśvaras tatra vijñeyo adhideo varāṇane | jñānāśaktiḥ kriyāḥ ca kaṇṭhike parakīrtite | kaṇṭhe sthītā tu yā mudrā ahaṃ tatradhīdevatam | rudro mātṛgaṇaiḥ sārḍham jñānavyasa tu varāṇane | anantā hy upavite tu śaktiḥ sarvabhūṭagā parā | hastabāhukāṭisthāḥ ca viṣṇur jñeyo 'dhidevatam | śaktayo vīvidhākārā jñānām adhideovatam | etan mahārthadam devī yu vijñāti tatvatāḥ | śivavats sa tu boddhavyo viruddhācarṇo 'pi yaḥ*.

<sup>436</sup> The Śaiva term *saṃdohaḥ* for one class of site consistently appears in Buddhist treatments in the form *chandohaḥ* (e.g. *Laghūsaṃvara* 50.22 and *Hevajra* 1.6.10). This substitution of initial *ch-* for *s-/ś-* is probably an east-Indianism; cf. Oriya *chāñicā* < Skt. *saṃcayati*; Bengali *chātū* < Skt. *śaktiḥ*; Oriya *chāc*, *chācā* < Skt. *satya*; Bengali *chui*, Bengali and Oriya *chutā* < Skt. *sūtram*; Oriya *chāṇa* < Skt. *śaṅkh*; Bengali *chādā* < Skt. *śāḍalam*; and Bengali *chikā*, *chiklī* < Skt. *śṛṅkhala*, *śṛṅkhaliḥ*.

<sup>437</sup> On these lists see here pp. 192-203.

<sup>438</sup> See, e.g. *Samvarodaya* 8.29b,d: *pīṭhādidesagananena viśuddhadehaḥ ... vande sadā guruvaram śirasā natana* 'At all times, with head bowed, I venerate the best of Gurus, ... whose body has been purified by going to the Pīṭhas and other [such] sites'; 9.25: *pīṭhopapīṭhasevanān nirmalo bhavati mānavah | bhraman nimittam saṃlakṣya nirvikalpena dhimataḥ* 'A man becomes pure by frequenting Pīṭhas and Upapīṭhas. The adept should wander [there] without hesitation, observing [any] signs [that may arise] should without inhibition'; 26.14 ... 18c-19:

believed to frequent them and to be incarnate there in human women enlightened from birth or in childhood;<sup>439</sup> classifying such women as belonging to one

*pīṭhe kṣetre ca cchandohe melāpakamāśānake || pūjyapūjakasaṃbandhe amṛtam argham uttamam || ... pratīṣṭhahomakāleṣu pīṭhabhramaṇagocare || naimitte yoginipūjye mantrasādhanaatkaṇe | evaṃ bahuvīdhā jñeyā tasya doṣa na vidyate* 'In a Pīṭha, Kṣetra, Chandoha, Melāpaka, a cremation-ground, or an encounter between worshipper and worshipped, wine is the highest guest-water. ... on the occasion of installation ceremonies, when wandering through the Pīṭhas, during worship of the Yoginīs occasioned by some event, and when doing the Sādhana of a Mantra. He should know that there are a manifold [occasions] such as these [on which he may drink wine]. He will not be at fault'. Cf. *Nīśaṃcāra*, f. 10v2-3: *evaṃ eva prakāreṇa ghorasādhanaataparam | kṣetra paryatamānasya sādhanakasya mahādhiye | śabdham dadāti yaḥ kṣāciti tasya praśnaṃ vadāmy aham* 'O you of great understanding, I shall teach [you] the requests [that should be addressed] to any [divine being] who speaks to the Sādhaka as he wanders in this manner visiting the Kṣetras, intent on the Ghorasādhana'; *Tantrāloka* 29.40ab: *iti saṃketābhijñā bhramate pīṭheṣu yadi sa siddhispṛṇḥ* 'If a person seeking Siddhis wanders from Pīṭha to Pīṭha knowing these signs, the *chummāḥ*) ...

<sup>439</sup> Jayabhadra, *Cakrasaṃvara* pāñjikā on 26.1, p. 125: *yāvanti kṣetropakṣetrāṇi yogapīṭhāni tatra vyavasthītā dātāḥ siddhidāś cumbanāvogūhanād etāḥ viśeṣeṇi yāvāt* 'Dūts are present in all the Yogapīṭhas, the Kṣetras, and Upakṣetras. These bestow Siddhi, especially through kissing and copulating [with the Sādhaka]'; *Laghūsaṃvara* 41.4c-5, reconstructed from the lemma in the *Cakrasaṃvara* pāñjikā of Bhavabhūta, the commentary *Sādhanaidhi* of Kamalapaḍa (K), this passage as incorporated in *Vajradāka* f. 41v2 (18.2) (V), and the Tibetan translation (T): *sarvottareṣu pīṭhāni dākinyaḥ tu sarvavyāpini | deśe deśe 'bhijyante* (V, mṅgon par skye T : *jāyante* K) *jñānayuktāḥ svayoniṣu | dākinyaḥ tāḥ samākhyatāḥ vajraṃḍalanāyikāḥ* 'In all these superior [sites] in various regions, namely the Pīṭhas and the rest, women are born who are endowed with knowledge in their mother's wombs. It is these that are called Dākinīs, leaders of the Vajraṃḍala'. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* f. 115v3-4 (16.279c-280): *vijñāna-m-udayamṇi śaṃ kalyāṇamṇam nibodha me | pīṭhājāś cāṣṭabhir varṣāḥ kṣetrāj dvādaśābhidhikā | dvāre śoḍaśābhīr devī yonijāḥ saptevimśati* 'Listen to my account of the emergence of the enlightenment of these [Yoginīs]. Those born in Pīṭhas [achieve it] at the age of eight, those born in Kṣetras at the age of twelve, [those born in] Dvāras at the age of sixteen, and those born of [lowly] wombs at the age of twenty-seven'. Cf. *Tantrāloka* 15.97cd-100b: *bāhye tu tādrāntaḥśayoga-mārgavaiśāradhāḥ | devyāḥ svabhāvāj jāyante pīṭham tat bāhyam ucate | yathā svabhāvato mleccāḥ adharmaṇyagāvaritāḥ | tata deśe nityatetham jñānayogau sthītau kvocit | yathā cātanmayo 'py eti pāpīṭam taiḥ samāgamāt | tathā pīṭhas-thito 'py eti jñānayogadīpātṛatām* 'In the outer [Pīṭhas, Kṣetras and the rest as opposed to these respoused into the person of the worshipper] divine women are born who are innately adept in the path of such internal meditation. Just as the barbarians of other lands naturally follow paths outside of ordained religion, so in some [women] in these places enlightenment and meditation-trance are naturally present. And just as a person becomes a sinner through association with those [barbarians], even though he makes no effort to assimilate, so a person residing in a Pīṭha becomes the beneficiary of enlightenment, meditation-trance, and [Siddhis]'; and 29.40: *iti saṃketābhijñā bhramate pīṭheṣu yadi sa siddhispṛṇḥ | acirā labhate tat tat prāpyam yad yoginivadanāt* 'If a person seeking Siddhis wanders from Pīṭha to Pīṭha knowing these signs, the *chummāḥ*), he quickly attains from the mouths



or other a fixed number of deity-clans (*kulam*) and of specifying various characteristics of appearance and behaviour that enable the adept to determine these clan-affiliations;<sup>440</sup> the consumption and offering of meat and alcoholic liquor in their rites;<sup>441</sup> the consumption of foul substances without inhibition as an initiatory test of nendal awareness;<sup>442</sup> the sacrifice and consumption of the flesh

of Yogiñis whatever he wishes'.

<sup>450</sup> *Laghuharsavara*, Putalis 16–24 (> *Abhidhānottara*, *Saṃpajodbhara*, *Samvaterodaya*, *Mahāmudrātilaka*, *Vajradāka*); and parallel passages in the Vidyapiṭha texts *Yoginisampanā*, *Tantrasadbhāsa*, *Siddhavyaśevaramita*, and *Picumata*. For full references see SANDESON 2001, pp. 42–43 (Table I).

Blavabhaṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃpārkaṇḍikā*, p. 497: *asu piṅgavīṇī mādyasī ca mātṛasai apī tatra dīcayā | tū pūjā bhaktimato janyasa triserukayābhīratirāḥ gatacyā saṃtustāśchitā varadā bhavanī || On these [lunar days] the women who embody the Vajra goddesses should be worshipped with offerings of alcohol and flesh. When they have been worshipped they become delighted and bestow boons on any devotee who is attached to Heruka; | Abhidhanottara B F 48v- (650d-56a): vidhaiḥ cāpi samayuttamāḥ | \*madhyair (em.: padma Cod.) nānāvidhai<-> caiva surapānīsai tatthottamāḥ | \*tṛameḷāpām (tira corr.: tirā Cod.) diyaṃ yaginī citā dhottamaḥ<-> | kapalakhatyāgarakāḥ | kartikādamarukattamaḥ | rādayai<-> nānāvidhair diyaḥ<-> bhyabhaktyagrusottamāḥ | vidhaiḥ cumbanāḥgaḥ cāpyalehyottamatamaḥ | evamētidam śmāṣṇarā tu yakṣavatāgarākapaḥ | bahir tātrita dūtāyām \*herukasipam (em.: heruko rūpa Cod.) utvaheṭ damaravāyātāntā<-> ca vadyānyāna<-> prakurāt | digrāsā mudrayā yukta hāṃphatkiśhiḷāte | ālīghadhavyagaṇa jvalāmdruḥā tu bhāvayēt | mukham āpūrya samayāt | The illustrious assembly of Viras [with Yoginis should be celebrated] with [the eating of] the various superior sacramental meats [detailed above] with various wines and excellent draughts of rice-beer. The various Yoginis, holding the skull-bowl, skull-staff, a chopping-knife, and a rattle-drum [should be gratified with various forms of music, the savours of excellent foods soft and hard, with kisses and embraces, with foods to be sucked and licked. Such [should be] the cremation ground [on this occasion]. There he should offer Bali to the Yakṣas, Veṭālas, and Rākṣasas. He should assume the form of Heruka. He should [sound] the rattle-drum and Vajra-bell, dance, and make music and dance. Naked together with his consort (mudrā) he utters the syllables HUM PHAT and cries of joy. Standing in the warrior pose he should make the Flame Mudrā with his hands, having filled his mouth with the sacramental meats'. Patala 16 of the *Saṃvaraḍya* is devoted to the preparation and use of alcoholic drinks. At its end (6151abe) it says: madyeṇāṇāṃ vinā pūjā homas caiva ghṛtāṃ vinā | sadguram ca vinā dharmam There cannot be worship without drinking wine, fire-sacrifice without clarified butter, or religious practice without the Guru'. Cf. the scriptural passages on the indispensability of wine in Kaula worship cited by Jayaratha on *Tantraloka* 29.1-13. One of those passages says that beer is the Goddess and wine Bhairava; sūrā ca parvatī śaktir madyanī bhairava ucaye (p. 9, line 2). Cf. *Saṃvaraḍya* 16.12cd: yā sūrā \*tajrayo-ginīḥ (conj.: tajrayoginyo Ed.) yo naḍah sa ca heruhāḥ 'Beer is Vajrayugini and wine is Heruka'.*

<sup>342</sup> See, e.g., Kumāracandra, *Herukābhayaḍāyapañjikā*, p. 158: *tatretī maṇḍale 'mbhagabhājane samakṛta-mṃ bīḍaladādhakam dāhagabhikṣukhaḍḍayo vāso-bhagbhāyam ātīyam ātīya cārāḍidigāyatrā rakṣitā 'potanḡpratiḡpotanḡpradīnatarakṣitāpūrahayam* (corr.: *potanḡm pratiḡpotanḡm* Ed.) *praveṣya tadānye nīṣavāḥ* 'There, that is to say, before the Maṇḍala, the Āḍya, facing south,

of human beings believed to have been reincarnated seven times for this purpose (*saptavartak*), recognized in both traditions on the basis of similar physical characteristics, and the use of their skulls as skull-bowls;<sup>443</sup> the practice of visualizations in which the Śādhaka enters the body of a victim through the channels of his vital energy (*nāḍi*), extracts his vital essences, and draws them into himself;<sup>444</sup> that of yogically raising one's consciousness out of one's body through

should sacramentalize in a skull-bowl some substance such as cat excrement. He should then lead the blindfolded candidate forward, protect him with the *Gāyatri* [of Heruka] beginning with OM, and after addressing him with the word *POTANĠI*, [the *chomā* of welcome] and having received [the *chomā*] *PRATIPOṬANĠI* in response, he should bring him before [the Maṇḍala] and place that substance in his mouth'. For the Śaiva literature see the passages cited in SANDERSON 2005c, pp. 113–114, fn. 63.

113-114, ff. 63.  
43 See, e.g. *Laṅkāśāstra* f. 103r-4 (111-2) and 49.4-13 (49.4-8 = f. 35v-7; 49.8-13 = bDe mchog nyung ngu, f. 244r-2-5); *Abhidhānotāra*, Pataḷa 63; *Herukabhūdaya*, Pataḷa 13 (*Kṛhag 'thung mngon par byung ba* f. 107-6); *Hevajratāntra* 1.110-10; *Mahāmudrātika* f. 233r-4 (1220-21); *tādrām yatsnāṁ saptajñānām ānayaṁ* | *nānāpūjāhāreṇa pūjeyat tam samāhiteṣu* | *lasyottamāṅgaṃ ukṛtya kṛāyetaṁ padmahājanam* | *tatraiva pātre madānām pāyāyeta prajñāyā saha* 'He should with all effort bring such a man of seven rebirths. With concentrated mind he should honour him with the various offering-substances. Having decapitated him he should make the head into a skull-bowl. In that vessel he should drink wine with his consort'; f. 515r-v2 (241-3c) *athānyau 'caiva* (conj.: *caizā Cod.*) *karmākhyāṇaṁ pratyakhyāny uḍarū cchru* [yena *prāṣitamātreṇa āsū Siddhiḥ pravarate*] | *susnidhānā ca sugandhāṅghaṅ sugandhasvedamāditāḥ* | *satyavādī salajātāmā nivēṣati ciraṁ sadā* | *kṛpāpārāḥ kṣāntiyutāḥ satyavādī nīrasyārā* | *saptajñānā trijñānā rā*. In the *Vidyāpīṭha* literature see the treatments of this topic in *Jayadrathayāmala* *Śaṭka* 3, *Yoginīśāstra*, *Kāḷājñānapataḷa*; *Tantrasadbhāva*, *Adhikāra* 7; and *Tantraloka* 16.63-64 and Jayaratha's introduction to this passage.  
44 See, e.g. *Herukabhūdayapāñjikā* on *Herukabhūdaya*, Pataḷa 13 p. 155: *svedadhē dākīṇīḥ śārayāyitā sādhye guḍena pravēṣya navadārān nādimārgēṇa pāśoḥ śākṣhyēṣya 'bījām* (conj.: *bījām jīvam bījūn Ed.*) *śukradikam grāhayitvā nīḥṣyā s-vadeḥ pravēṣayet* 'He should emanate the Dākīnis from inside his body, have them enter the victim through his anus [or any one of the nine apertures and passing through the channels of the victim's vital energies, seize his seed, his semen and other [vital essences]. Then he should have them exit [the victim] and return [with these] into [his own body]'; on *Herukabhūdaya*, Pataḷa 42, p. 167: *athavā sādhyam ākṣya tacchukrāṇi pītṛā bhakṣayet* 'Having attracted the victim he should [extract and] drink his semen and other [essences], then eat [the flesh]'; *Abhidhānotāra* B f. 51v1-3 (9.62-64b): *vārāhyātmabhāvena tarjanyā nābhī redhāyeta* | *dākīnyādi tu cakrāsthā deya*-cha-<sup>3</sup> | *\*śūcīkṛtis* (em.: *\*śūcīkṛts Cod.*) *tathā* | *nāradavade 'praveṣyāyitā* (conj.: *praveṣya tām Cod.*) *'vedhaya* (corr.: *vi-dhayed Cod.*) *dhrdayapāñjakām* | *yoginīyā hata*-mātre (conj.: *mātram Cod.*) *tu pibet kṣatājām uttamam* | *hatam ca bhakṣayet* so *hi buddho bhāṣiyati nānyathā* 'By identifying with Vārāhi he should pierce the navel [of the victim] with his index finger [in the gesture of threat] and cause the Dākīnis and other goddesses of the Maṇḍala to take on the form of a needle [through visualization]. When he has made them enter [the victim in this form] through the nine apertures [of the body] he should have them pierce through the lotus of his heart. As soon as the Yoginīs have killed him he should drink his excellent blood and eat his flesh. For it is certain



the central channel as a means of ending one's life and ascending to a paradise or liberation, a practice known as *utrāntiḥ* in Śaiva sources and thence in the Buddhist Yoginītantras (Tib. 'pho ba),<sup>445</sup> the adaptation of this practice as a

that [thus] he will become a Buddha'; *Mahāmāyā* 2.10–14b. On the extraction of the vital essences by such yogic means in Vidyāpīṭha sources see, e.g., *Picumatā* f. 10v1–4 (3.198c–207): *praviṣya ca purāṇaṁ diuṣyaṁ 'japtu' (em. : japtā Cod.) cāṣṭasatām pūṇāḥ* || 199 *avadhūtatanur bhūtvā prayogaṁ idam ārabhet* | *paśubījasamāyuktāṁ ū-kāreṇaiva bheditam* || 200 *karṣaye tu samādhiḥ raktaughāṁ rakṭayā saha* | *tena raktena mantrajñāḥ paripūrṇakapālake* || 3.201 *sugandhakusumair yukte tenārghaṁ tu pradāpayet* | *devīnāṁ devadevīyā sarvasiddhyarthakāraṇam* || 3.202 *datte 'rghe tu prasiddhyeta trailokyāṁ nātra saṁśayaḥ* | *athavā caiva ū-kāraṇ paśubījasamanvitam* || 3.203 *codayitvā udānena avadhūtatanuḥ 'sada* (corr. : *sadaḥ Cod.*) | *nirācāreṇa bhāvena paśudehaṁ viśet tataḥ* || 3.204 *tatrastho grahaṇaṁ kuryāt bhūtānāṁ mantracintakāḥ* | *apānena tataḥ śīghraṁ svadehaṁ praviśet budhaḥ* || 3.205 *pañcabhūtāni cākṛya pūjayaṁ kapāladhṛk* | *raktana prathamā* <em>devi</em> <em>devitīyā</em> <em>māṁsabhakṣaṇe</em> || 3.206 *trītiyā tvak-ca bhakṣaḥ tu caturthī medabhakṣaṇā* | *snehana tarpayet devaṁ pañcavyomāntasamsthitam* || 3.207 *etat te paramaṁ guhyaṁ yogesīnāṁ tu pūjanam* | *siddhyartham caiva mantrināṁ kharacatvajigīṣuṇāḥ* 'After entering before the celestial Maṇḍala he should repeat the Mantra eight hundred times. When [in this way] he has become one whose body has transcended all duality he should commence the following procedure. In deep meditation he should draw out a stream of [the victim's] blood with the [Mantra of] Raktā conjoined with the Victim-seed with Ū as the [final] vowel. The Mantra adept should place fragrant flowers in a skull, fill it with that blood, and present it as the guest-offering to the goddesses and Bhairava as the means of accomplishing all Siddhis. Alternatively he should propel the letter Ū combined with the Victim-seed up [along the central channel] with the ascending vital energy and in the state that transcends convention he should enter the victim's body. Once within it the adept should take hold of the gross elements [of the victim's body] while meditating on the Mantra and then swiftly return into his own body by drawing in his breath. When he has drawn them into himself the Kāpālika (*kapāladhṛk*) should worship [his deities with them]. He worships the first goddess by offering her the blood, and the second by offering her the flesh to eat. The third eats the skin and the fourth the fat. With the fluid of the body he should gratify the god [Kāpālisabhairava] who resides beyond the five voids [along the central channel]. This worship is the highest secret of the Yogesvarī. [I have taught it] to you so that Mantra adepts that seek to master the state of the Khocara may succeed'. See also *Tantrasadbhāva*, ff. 181v5–182r2 (27.1–10); *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 184r6 (Yoginīsaṁcāra 5.40): *yasmātra karmaṇa siddhi raktākāraṇapūrvikā* | *tarpaṇaṁ devatānāṁ ca* 'For in this [system] the success of the ritual and the gratification of the deities requires the extraction of [the victim's] blood'; *Tantrāloka* 16.35c–51b, describing the yogic process in detail; and *Netratanta* 20, which describes how Yoginīs extract life-essences from their victims in this way in order to offer them up to Mahābhairava and thereby liberate them.

<sup>445</sup> *Catupīṭha* ff. 68v–70r (*Guhyaṭīṭha*, Paṭala 3) and *Bhāvabhāṭṭa* thereon (*Catupīṭhanibandha* ff. 50v4–52v7); *Vajradāka* ff. 50r7–52r3 (Paṭala 21); *Sampūḍbhava* ff. 78r5–80r6 (Kalpa 8, Prakaraṇa 3); *Samvarodaya* 5.67–69 and 19.35c–47. In Tibetan tradition this practice is one of the *nā ro chos drug* or Six Teachings of Nāropā (956–1040), commonly known in English as his Six Yogas. These have been the object of extensive Tibetan exegesis. For English translations of some of these works, including the *Chos drug gi man ngag* attributed to

means of assisting the dying and the dead—we have seen a ritualized realization of this in the Mantranaya's funeral ceremony taught by Padmaśrimitra and Śūnyasamādhi<sup>446</sup>—; and the practice of transferring one's consciousness out of one's body to pass into and animate a corpse (*parakayapraveśaḥ*).<sup>447</sup>

Nor is the adoption of the Vidyāpīṭha's practices restricted to externals. It also extended into the domain of Yoga. For one of the most striking features that distinguish the Yoginītantras from the Yogatantras and indeed from all that preceded them in the history of Buddhism is that they based their inner practice on the theory that the body is pervaded and sustained by a network of energy channels (*nāḍī*), variously numbered, with three pre-eminent: two vertical lateral channels, *lalanā* and *rasanā*, and a hidden third extending between up the centre of the body to the head, called *avadhūt* or *caṇḍālī*, with Cakras located along its course, which was to be awakened and perceived as the means of access to the bliss (*sahajānandaḥ*, *mahāsukham*) of enlightened awareness. This Yoga of meditation on the channels of the vital energy and the Cakras is not found in the transitional *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*<sup>448</sup> nor indeed in the *Laghuśaṅvara*,

Tilopa, the *sNyan rgyud rdo rje'i tshig khang* attributed to Nāropā, and the *Nā ro chos drug gi 'khrīd rim yid ches gum idan* of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) (*Gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 401–532) see MULLIN 1996 and 1997. For Tsong kha pa's detailed treatment of this practice of ascent from the body see MULLIN 1996, pp. 209–215. His sources are those Tantras listed here: the *Catupīṭha* (and Bhāvabhāṭṭa's commentary), the *Vajradāka*, the *Sampūḍha* (= *Sampūḍbhava*), and the *Samvarodaya*. MULLIN translates the Tibetan rendering of these titles into English. He identifies his 'Mystic Kiss Tantra' as the *Caturyoginīsaṁpūḍha*. It is in fact the *Sampūḍha*, the work that also appears in this translation as the *Sambhūta Tantra*, reproducing a faulty Tibetan transcription of the same title. Tsong kha pa notes that this practice of ascent from one's body (*utrāntiḥ*) is a unique feature of the highest (*bla na med*) Buddhist Tantra class (MULLIN 1996, p. 209). That is so within the Buddhist Tantras; but the source of the practice is the Śaiva tradition, whose texts have always placed a great emphasis on it both in the Atimārga and in the Mantramārga; see *Pāsupatasūtra* 5.30–40; *Pāmpāmādhātmya* 11.54–71 (explaining that passage); *Skandapurāṇa*-Ambikākhanda, *Adhyāya* 182; *Raurasasūtrasaṁgraha*, Paṭala 9; *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 11.13–19b; *Dvīśatika-Kālottara* ff. 2v9–3r6; *Trayodaśatika-Kālottara* ff. 30r9–31r7; *Kiraṇa*, Paṭala 59; *Matāṅgapārameśvara*, *Caryāpāda*, Paṭala 9; *Picumatā*, Paṭala 100; *Mālinīvijayottara* 17.25–33; *Tantrasadbhāva* f. 36r11–v10 (9.294–321); *Tantrāloka* 28.292–302; and, in Java/Bali, *Jñānasiddhānta*, chapters 3, 5–7, and 20.

<sup>446</sup> See here pp.126–128. For the Śaiva adaptation of this practice as a means of liberating the dying see, e.g., *Tantrāloka* 19.1–56 (*sadya-utrāntidīkṣa utkrāmāni dīkṣa*).

<sup>447</sup> *Vajradāka* f. 51r1–3 (21.19–22). In the Śaiva literature see *Nīśāsamūlāśaṁkhitā* f. 22v4 (*Nīśāsamūla* 7.20), (>) *Svachanda* 7.328c–329b; *Picumatā* f. 11v (3.228–232b); (5.95–101); f. 356r4–v3 (96.19–35); *Tantrasadbhāva* ff. 181v5–182r3 (27.1–11); *Mālinīvijayottara* 21.9–19; and *Tantrāloka* 28.294–300. This practice too is one of the 'Six Yogas of Nāropā' (*nā ro chos drug*); see Tsong kha pa, *op. cit.* translated in MULLIN 1996, pp. 215–216.

<sup>448</sup> See also TANAKA 1996, p. 272.



but it is much developed in the latter's ancillary scriptures such as the *Vajradāka* and *Samvarodaya*, and elsewhere in the *Yoginītantras*, notably in the *Hevajra*, the *Saṃputādhāra*, the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, and the *Kālacakra*.<sup>449</sup>

The elements of this model are 'purified through equation' (*viśuddha*-) with Buddhist soteriological factors, either newly acquired, such as the twenty-four sacred sites or long established in the Mahāyāna, such as the three bodies of a Buddha (*nirmāṇakāya*, *sambhoga-kāya*, and *dharmakāya*), equated with the three principal channels, and Means (*upāya*) and Wisdom (*prajñā*), whose co-functioning (*yuganaddharāhita*) is the way to liberation, equated with the lateral pair.<sup>450</sup> But the basic conception is derived from the Yoga of the Śaivas in general and the Śākta Śaivas in particular.

**THE INCORPORATION OF TEXT-PASSAGES FROM THE VIDYĀPIṬHA.** In the light of this evidence of the pervasive similarities between the *Yoginītantras* and the Śaivism of the *Vidyāpiṭha*, and considering the fact that these similarities set the *Yoginītantras* apart from all earlier forms of Buddhism, the reader will not be surprised to know that there is also evidence that this tradition incorporated

<sup>449</sup> That the Yoga of the energy channels was one of the principal features that distinguished the *Yoginītantras* was asserted by the learned of the Mantranaya itself; see Śraddhākaravarman cited here on p.239; also Mikhas grub rje, *rgyud spyi*, p. 256, ll. 6-7: *phung kham shye mched kyi nam dag gto bor ston pa's rgyud yin na pha rgyud (ris) nam dag gto bor ston pa ma rgyud* 'If a Tantra principally teaches the purification of the Skandhas, Dhātus, and Āyatanas it is a Father Tantra. A Mother Tantra principally teaches the purification of the energy channels'. In this passage the distinction is between the esoteric Yogatantras (Mahāyogatantras, Yogotantaratnas) headed by the *Guhyasamāja* and the *Yoginītantras* or *Yoginiruttaratantras* exemplified by the *Tantras of Saṃvara* and *Hevajra*, the two divisions of what the Tibetans called *bla med kyi rgyud* 'the unsurpassed Tantra [class]'. Mikhas grub rje's tradition rejects this criterion for distinguishing between the two divisions on the grounds that there are *Yoginītantras* (Mother Tantras) that also teach the purification of the Skandhas and the rest. That is true. We find this, for example, in the *Hevajra* (1.7.12; 1.9.6-9, 13-14; 2.2.31-36) and the *Abhidhānottara* (e.g. B ff. 20v5-21r1; f. 26r3; f. 36r3-v6; f. 51r3-4; ff. 69v2-70r1). But that is because the second-wave *Yoginītantras* sought to encompass the tradition of the *Guhyasamāja* by incorporating many of its elements. He does not, we may note, support his argument by pointing to the presence of the purification of the energy channels in any Father Tantra. From the historian's point of view the distinction that he rejects remains accurate in spite of his objections. VAN SCHIAK (2008, p. 50) has noted the absence of material on the manipulation of the internal energies in the Dunhuang manuscripts, which represent Tantric Buddhism up to about the middle of the ninth century.

<sup>450</sup> For a comprehensive listing of 'purifying equations' for the principal channels and four Cakras (the *Nirmāṇacakra* at the root of the navel, the *Dharmacakra* in the heart, the *Sambhogacakra* in the throat, and the *Mahāsukhacakra* in the head) see *Jñānodayatantra*, p. 6, ll. 1-14 (the four Cakras), and p. 6, l. 20-p. 7, l. 9 (the three channels).

and adapted much textual material from the Śaiva scriptures in the process of producing its own.

This is particularly evident in the case of the *Laghuśaṃvara* and its satellites. I have reported and tabulated elsewhere correspondences with passages in five Śaiva scriptures: (1) the *Yoginīśaṃcāra* of the third *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*,<sup>451</sup> (2) the short redaction of the *Siddhayaogesarimata*—the *Jayadrathayāmala*,<sup>452</sup> (3) the short redaction of the *Siddhayaogesarimata*—the *Jayadrathayāmala*,<sup>453</sup> (4) the *Picumata* (*Brahmayāmala*), and (5) the *Niśaṃcāra*, all of which are texts of the *Vidyāpiṭha*. There are also a few correspondences with earlier texts of the Buddhist Mantranaya;<sup>454</sup> but unlike those the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s parallels with the *Vidyāpiṭha* are not short passages of one or two verses but detailed and continuous expositions that run in two cases over several chapters, amounting in all to some 200 verses out of a total of

<sup>451</sup> The *Yoginīśaṃcāra*, though it comes to us as part of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, has very probably been incorporated from another source. This is evident from the register of its Sanskrit, from its style, and from its content. This source may be a text closely related to the lost *Yoginīśaṃcāra*. For it claims at its beginning to be about to explain what has already been taught in that Tantra. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 169r6 (*Yoginīśaṃcāra* 1.1-6b): *devy utāca || purā tu śaṃvare tantre yad uktaṃ paramēśvara || 'tan na (em. : tatra Cod.) jñātaṃ mayā deva guhyatantrasya vistarāt || 2 kathaṃ sa bhairava dehas tvayī deva mahābalaḥ || kathaṃ devyo yajanty enaṃ kulāś tāsāṃ kati smṛtāḥ || 3 kathaṃ kramam mahāgūḍha-*cā* cāraṃ tāsāṃ kathaṃ vibho || corusiddhiḥ kathaṃ tāsāṃ etan me brūhi vistarām || 4 evaṃ ākurya devasyāvanāmburūhacyutam || vacanmā mahādevo bhūyo vacanam abravīt || 5 sādhu sādhu mahābhage sarvajñānārthabhājane || mahārāhasyam atulam yoginīcāram uttamam || 6 pravakyaṃ samāseṇa śṛṇuḥ ekāgramānāsāḥ || The goddess said: Paramēśvara, I have not understood the teaching that you gave of old in the *Śaṃvaratantra*, because of the great length of [that] esoteric text. What is the nature, O god, of your mighty embodiment as Bhairava? How do the goddesses worship it? How many are their families held to be? How is the most secret procedure of their worship? How, O lord, do they rotate? And how is one to obtain the sacramental substances for them? Explain this to me at length. Having heard thus the nectar in the form of words that fell from the mouth of the goddess Mahādeva replied and said: I congratulate you, illustrious and worthy receptacle of the teachings of omniscience. I shall concisely teach you the incomparable great secret, the unsurpassed Rotation of the *Yoginīs*. Listen with attentive mind'. The last part of the first chapter of the *Yoginīśaṃcāra* gives an account of the many classes of female supernaturals as the constituents of the body mentioned in the list of questions and ends with the words: *ity evaṃ yoginīyamaṇi yoginījālaśaṃvare* (corr. : *saṃvare* D) *yathotpannam tu kathitaṃ 'nityogam* (em. : *nityogam* D) *śṛṇu sāmpratam* (D f. 172v4-5, 1.72c-f) Thus I have explained to you the arising of the order of the pantheon of powers as [taught] in the *Yoginījālaśaṃvara*. Hear now its application(s). See also D f. 199v6-7 (7.124c-125b): *uktāni yāni karmāṇi yoginījālaśaṃvare || ayutaṃ japtvā tu sarvāṇi karoty eva hi līlayā* 'After repeating the Mantra ten thousand times he easily accomplishes all the rites that I have taught in the *Yoginījālaśaṃvara*'.*

<sup>452</sup> See here p. 163.



about 700 with some prose equivalent in length to about 80 more. They teach the characteristics by which the initiate may recognize women as belonging to various classes of Yoginī, Dākinī, and Lāmā, and vocabularies of special words and gestures (*chommāḥ*) for communicating with them when encountered (Paṭalas 15–24), the rules (*samayāḥ*) that bind initiates as they engage in post-initiatory *caryā* (Paṭalas 26–29), the system of Pīṭhas and other sacred pilgrimage centres for wandering ascetics engaged in this practice (Paṭala 41), and the characteristics of the ideal sacrificial victim known as a *saptāvartah* or *saptajānmā* (Paṭala 49).<sup>453</sup>

These parallels demonstrate a high degree of overlap with the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha in the parts of the text and its satellites that deal with the religious discipline (*samayācāraḥ*) of the adherents of this form of Buddhism. Still lacking, however, was evidence of textual dependence in those parts that deal with that discipline's ritual core. But that gap can now be closed. For since publishing those results I have located further evidence in what survives of the Vidyāpīṭha's scriptures that this corpus was also the source of substantial parts of the *Laghūsaṃvara*'s instruction in this domain. The areas of prescription in which this textual dependence has emerged are (1) the daily worship of the 'Kulikā' prescribed in the first chapter of the *Laghūsaṃvara*, (2) the ceremony of initiation before the Maṇḍala through which a candidate becomes qualified and obliged to practice the Tantra's rites and observance, which is taught from the end of the first chapter to the beginning of the fourth; and (3) the ritual procedures for supernatural effects, mostly hostile sorcery, that form a considerable part of the work and take the form of fire-sacrifices (*homaḥ*), and the use of the Mantras and the name of the target (*sādhyanāma*) to empower substances in various ways and combinations to bring about these results. These parallelisms are as follows:

1. The worship of the Kulikā: *Laghūsaṃvara* 1.4–7b (< *Herukābhyudaya* 15.6–10) < *Picumata* 84.9c–16.
2. The initiation ceremony: *Laghūsaṃvara* 1.15–4.1 < 8.3–28 of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*.
3. The ritual procedures for supernatural effects:
  - (a) *Laghūsaṃvara*, Paṭala 34 < *Picumata* 41.1–3, 49.3c–4c, 41.4–7b, 41.12abc, and 41.15d.
  - (b) *Laghūsaṃvara*, Paṭala 35 < *Picumata* 26.1–2b, 26.41c–44.

<sup>453</sup> For my tabulation of these correspondences see SANDERSON 2001, pp. 41–47. See also SANDERSON 1985, p. 214, note 106; SANDERSON 1988, pp. 678–679; and SANDERSON 1994, esp. pp. 92–96.

- (c) *Laghūsaṃvara*, Paṭala 36 < *Picumata* 26.45c–48b.
- (d) *Laghūsaṃvara*, Paṭala 37 < *Picumata* 29.1ab, 30.1, 29.35, 29.38–48b, 29.50 (cf. 20.56–57), 29.61ab.
- (e) *Laghūsaṃvara*, Paṭala 50, up to v. 19 (the point at which the earlier redaction of the text ends) < *Picumata* 5.17–18, 5.23c–28, 5.63, 5.67, 5.70.

Comparison of the textual parallels reveals that it is the Cakrasaṃvara corpus that has adopted and adapted the Śaiva sources rather than the other way round. For the Buddhist versions abound in instances in which it can be seen that Śaiva material has been misunderstood, crudely, artificially, and incompletely modified, or rendered contextually incongruous. The Śaiva versions, on the other hand, seem to me to be entirely free of signs of textual dependence on Buddhist originals.

Before proceeding to demonstrate this through the presentation and analysis of examples I wish first to address an objection that has been raised against my conclusion.<sup>454</sup> I do so before my analysis because that objection, if it were valid, would block in advance the force of all my evidence, being based not on contrary analyses of particular parallels but on a perceived characteristic of all the materials I have identified. This characteristic is that the Buddhist versions are less clear in meaning, less grammatically correct. By concluding that the direction of redaction is from Śaiva materials to the Buddhist in spite of this characteristic I am held to have overlooked or violated the textual critic's maxim *lectio difficilior potior* 'The more difficult reading is to be preferred'. This maxim means that when one is confronted by two readings, both of which are plausible, one should prefer that which is less easily explained as the result of the alteration, accidental or deliberate, of the other, provided there is a clearly established line of transmission between the sources of the divergent readings. Thus, it is implied, the less clear and more incorrect Buddhist versions should be judged to have preceded the clearer and more correct Śaiva versions on the grounds that it is conceivable that a Śaiva redactor revised a deficient Buddhist version but not that a Buddhist spoiled a superior Śaiva version.<sup>455</sup>

What exactly the concept of lack of clarity is thought to cover in this argu-

<sup>454</sup> DAVIDSON 2002, p. 386, n. 105; and GRAY 2005, p. 8, n. 19.

<sup>455</sup> In fact it is not clear whether these authors think that the application of this principle means that the Buddhist versions *cannot* be secondary or only that it is less likely that they are. The second alternative alone would accord with a more fundamental principle of textual criticism, namely that there are no hard-and-fast rules because every textual problem must be regarded as possibly unique (HOUSMAN 1921, pp. 68–69).



ment is unclear, but I assume that the authors had in mind not merely grammatical deviations from the Paninian standard of high scholarship, since those are seldom difficult to understand, being characteristic of a particular register of the language, but also and principally lack of clarity in meaning caused by syntactical incoherence and the like, which is indeed a conspicuous defect in the Buddhist versions. Indeed they are sometimes barely intelligible, as is revealed by fact that the commentators confronted by these passages offer widely divergent but equally arbitrary interpretations.<sup>456</sup>

Now, the objection that a version which is less clear in this sense must have preceded one that is freer of these defects, proceeds from a serious misunderstanding of how the rule of the *lectio difficilior* is to be applied. Firstly, like all other 'rules' of textual criticism, it should never be put to work mechanically and in advance, without the application of thought to the weighing of probabilities in each case; and secondly, it should never be invoked to give precedence to readings that are grammatically defective, incoherent, or contextually awkward.<sup>457</sup> Lack of clarity is hardly likely to be the fault of the original framers of the text-passages, who, after all, probably knew what they wanted to say in whatever register of Sanskrit they chose to adopt. It is much more likely to be the result of incompetence and/or carelessness on the part of Buddhist redactors who had difficulty in understanding the Śaiva texts they were cannibalizing.

The secondary status of the Buddhist versions is also apparent in another deficiency: their greater metrical irregularity. In principle that might be explained either as the result of the Śaivas' having polished the Buddhist versions or as the result of indifference to the preservation of metrical form on the part of Buddhist redactors as they adapted metrically correct Śaiva materials. But the latter explanation is much to be preferred. For, as we shall see, metrical irregularity is particularly noticeable in the Buddhist versions at those places where the imprint of Buddhism is apparent.<sup>458</sup>

Let us assume, however, that there are indeed readings in the Buddhist versions which do not derive from the Śaiva parallels that I have identified. Would these not refute my conclusion that the Buddhist versions are secondary? No. For

the inference that they would rests on the assumption that I consider that the Śaiva text-passages redacted into the Buddhist versions were *exactly* those seen in these parallels. In fact I hold that the collation of these parallels with the Buddhist passages demonstrates that the former are, in most cases at least, closely related variants of the passages on which the Buddhist redactors drew, and that these passages were accessed in what were probably earlier and less elaborate redactions of the works in which I have found the parallels, or else in texts of the same corpus which are now out of reach, such as the *Yoginijālaśamvara*, the *Sarvavīrasaṃśaya*, the long version of the *Siddhayaogeśvarīmata*, and the *Pañcāmṛta*.<sup>459</sup> For what survives in the manuscript collections of India and Nepal is only a part of what once existed, as we learn both from citations of other texts in the works of learned Śaiva commentators and from the surviving scriptural redactions themselves, which, when listing the canon of texts to which they belong, mention many works, such as those mentioned above, which have not survived or await discovery.<sup>460</sup> My argument, then, is not that these Śaiva parallels are the direct sources of the Buddhist versions but only that the Śaiva parallels are close enough to the Buddhist versions to reveal the direction

<sup>459</sup> On these sources see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 234–237, footnotes 15–16, and 21–22.

<sup>460</sup> See, for example, the list of Tantras 'venerated by the circle of Yoginis' given in the first chapter of the *Yoginisamcāra* as sources on the matters it covers (*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Śaṭka* 3, ff. D 170v2–171r3 [129–42b]): *mūla-tantram kubjikā ca yoginijālaśamvaram* | *\*aṣṭaśambaranāmanam* (ABCE : *aṣṭaśavarānagānam* D) *haṭṭadhātis tathāparā* || 130 *calākṣaram mahātantram viśvātriṣṭvātārakam* | *mahāmāyottaram nāma sarvavīratam tathā* | 131 *ala-grāsam mahātantram* | *\*kuśīkodghātam* (em. : *krucikodghātam* ABCDE) *eva ca* | *siddhacakraṃ prakāśam ca potam tīram* | *\*tathāparam* (em. : *yathāparam* ABCDE) || 132 *siddhakaṇṭham mahājālam tathā bhairavagharvam* | *kuleśavarānāmanam kulaśamarabhairavam* || 133 *jñānakūlam atyugram tathā siddhāmātam śubham* | *kāśanāmātam evānyat kusumālikasajñānam* || 134 *siddhayaogeśvarītantram trikāśottaram tathā* | *picutantram mahāraudram vimaloṣṭhasamajñānam* || 135 *khadgarūpanāmanam tathānyam takamaṇḍalam* (em. : *takamaṇḍanam* ABCDE) | *karotī muṇḍanālākhyam śīracchedam bhayānakam* || 136 *hāhāravottaram tantram krodham unmat-tabhairavam* | *rurūyāmalam atyugram tathānyam rudrāyāmalam* || 137 *umāyāmalam evānyat gaurīyāmalam eva ca* | *skandayāmalam evānyam tathā bhairavayāmalam* || 138 *viṣṇuyāmalam eva syān nandīyāmalam eva ca* | *śukrayāmalam evānyat cakrayāmalam eva ca* || 139 *kapālisāmānam nāma mēṣanādisvaram tathā* | *haṃsayāmalanāmanam caṇḍogṛaṃ hātakaśvaram* || 140 *mahātāmeśvarītantram lakṣmīmatam uttamam* | *lampāṭādyam ca raktādyam tathā haḍḍāmātam param* || 141 *durvāsamatam evānyam evamādyam hy anekāśah* | *cete tantravarāḥ proktā yoginīcakravanditāḥ* || 142 *esu tantravareṣu eva tāsāṃ arāṇa vicīṇitāḥ*. The great majority of these works appear to have been lost. Works that have survived with titles listed here are distinguished by bold characters. Works here that are known only by citations or as loci of attribution in early colophons have been underlined.

<sup>456</sup> See here p. 216.

<sup>457</sup> This point has been made against DAVIDSON and GRAY by SZÁNTÓ (2008b, p. 218). On the principle invoked here, that a 'more difficult reading' must be plausible, see WEST 1973, p. 51: "When we choose the 'more difficult reading' ... we must be sure that it is in itself a plausible reading. The principle should not be used in support of dubious syntax, or phrasing that it would not have been natural for the author to use. There is an important difference between a more difficult reading and a more unlikely reading". CHADWICK 1957, p. 255: "The principle *lectio difficilior potior* does not extend to nonsense, ...".

<sup>458</sup> See here p. 207.



of dependence. It is possible, therefore, that any 'more difficult readings' were inherited from this earlier stratum in the development of the Vidyāpīṭha; and this mere possibility is sufficient to invalidate the inference of the priority of the Buddhist versions. If I am mistaken in my conclusion that the Buddhist versions are secondary that will have to be demonstrated by presenting a persuasive contrary analysis of the relationship between the Śaiva and Buddhist versions based on a detailed examination of the particulars I have identified. General arguments of this kind, which attempt to settle the matter in advance without engaging with the specifics of the parallels, will not suffice.<sup>461</sup>

Having dealt with this objection I can now turn to the evidence. In advance of a more thoroughgoing demonstration I consider a few passages here that reveal that the Buddhist redactors were using Śaiva materials and enable us to see how they did so.

I have mentioned the entry into the Cakrasaṃvara corpus of two lists of Śākta sacred sites. That found in the *Vajradāka*, ff. 42r1-43v3 (18.10-60) corresponds very closely in the Vidyāpīṭha to *Niśaṃcāra*, ff. 16v-19v (4.6b-5.11), both in content and wording. The passage lists twenty-four sacred sites and identifies for each its presiding goddess, the high Tantric goddess to whose family she is assigned, her weapon (*ayudham*), the site's sacred tree, and a guardian Bhairava (*kṣetrapālāḥ*).<sup>462</sup> The version in the *Vajradāka* leaves

<sup>461</sup> The same applies to a line of defence that objects to my conclusion in a manner that renders even a non-specific engagement with the parallels unnecessary. Confronted with the information that such parallels have been claimed some are inclined to respond with the question "Why would Buddhists have drawn on Śaiva sources?" The question is purely rhetorical and somewhat plaintive, implying that since the authors of these texts were Buddhists they would surely not have drawn on non-Buddhist scriptures. The inference has no force at all, because it invokes a notion of the nature of Buddhism and consequently of what Buddhists can or cannot have done that is derived from texts other than those of this corpus. No amount of evidence that other Buddhist scriptures were free of dependence on non-Buddhist texts can counter evidence that these Buddhist scriptures were not.

<sup>462</sup> Closely related to the *Niśaṃcāra* text is a version seen in *Kubjikāmatā* 22.23-46, which lacks one of its elements, namely the specification of the high Tantric goddesses to whose families these local goddesses belong. Another, somewhat divergent and giving the sites alone and the points on the body that should be empowered by them through *nyāsa*, appears in the Vidyāpīṭha's *Mādhavakula* (*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Śaṭka* 4, f. 124r1-5 [*Kalikākule pūjānirayāḥ*, vv. 16-22 (followed in *Tantrāloka* 29.59-63 (TĀ): parts of a Kashmirian redaction of the text are cited in *Tantrāloka* on these verses (TĀV)); the procedure of the *nyāsa* is put in Paddhati form in *Kālikulakarmāraṇa*, f. 22r5-v5 (KKK): *aṭṭhāśaṣṭ śikhāsthāne caritram ca karandhrake* | \**kulagiryam* (corr.: *kullagiryē Cod.*) | *prīye* | \**karṇe* (corr.: *karṇaṇam Cod.*) | \**jayanṭyā* (corr.: *jayanṭyā Cod.*) | \**uttare punaḥ* (corr.: *cf. jayanṭipīṭhāpāda vāmakarṇe KKK*) | \**utrayaṇe Cod.* | 17 | \**ujayanṭyā* (corr.: *ujayanṭyā Cod.*) | *tu bhrūmadhye prayāgaṃ vaktramadhyagam* | *vārdhāsi tu hrdaye śrīpīṭhaṃ skandhayaḥ dvayoh* | 18 | *kanṭhadeśe tu virajāṃ* | \**hy eruṇḍya*

this Śaiva pantheon and its ancillaries intact, the only major deviation being that it has four sites that differ from those in the *Niśaṃcāra*. Particularly striking in the *Vajradāka*'s version is not only the fact that it transmits all the details of this distinctively Śaiva religious map, which includes such well-known deities as Mahālakṣmī of Kollagiri (Kolhāpur), Hetuka[bhairava] of Devikoṭṭa, and Vettāḍa/Vetālā of Nagara (Pāṇaliputra/Kusumapura),<sup>463</sup> but also that it preserves the classification of the goddesses of these sites as belonging to one or other of the families of Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, Mahocchuṣmā, Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktā, and Mahābalā, information that is relevant only in the Śaiva context, since these are the four Guhyakās and their attendants that form the inner retinue of Kṣapāliśabhairava and Caṇḍa Kāpālīnī in the *Picumata* of the Vidyāpīṭha<sup>464</sup> and are not encountered to my knowledge in any Buddhist

(em. [cf. *eruṇḍipīṭhāpāda* | *udare KKK*] | *heruṇḍya Cod.*) | *udare prīye* | \**alampuraṃ* (Cod. KKK | *alipuraṃ TĀV* : *halā TĀ*) | *nābhīmadhye* | \**saṃdohailāpuraṃ prīye* (Cod. [cf. *elāpurapīṭhāpāda medasi KKK*] : *kandordive paramēsvarī TĀV*) | 19 | *kandādhāre tu gokarṇam* | \**marudeṣam* (corr.: *marudeṣam Cod.* : *marukṣam TĀ*) | *bhāgāntare* | *atha meḍhropari bhadre jñātavyaṃ sādhanena tu* | 20 | *daṁṣiṇe* | \**sakthī TĀV* : *sakti Cod.*) | \**nagaraṃ* (corr.: *nagare Cod.*) | \**vāme syāt* (TĀV : *vāmeśyāḥ Cod.*) | \**pauṇḍravardhanam* (corr. TĀV : *pauṇḍravarddhane Cod.*) | | *vāmashandhe purastitram* | \**prṣṭhāpuraṃ* (Cod. [cf. *prṣṭhāpuraṃpīṭhāpāda dakṣaṇandhe KKK*] : *elāpuraṃ TĀV*) | *tu dakṣiṇe* | 21 | \**kudṛyākeṣi* (TĀV : *uḍṛyākeṣi Cod.*) | \**jānumadhye* (Cod. [cf. *kupḍakeṣipīṭhāpāda jānumadhye KKK*] : *dakṣajānau TĀV*) | \**sopāraṃ* (Cod. : *sopānaṃ TĀ TĀV*) | \**cottare* (em. [=TĀV] : *cāntare Cod.*) | *smṛtam* | | \**kṣīrikā* (corr.: *kṣīrikām Cod.*) | \**vāmahaste* (Cod. [cf. *kṣīrikāpīṭhāpāda vāmahaste KKK*] | *tu* | \**māyāpuryā* (corr.: *māyāpuryā Cod.*) | *tu dakṣiṇe* | 22 | *āmṛtākeśvaraṃ gulpe vāme rājagṛhaṃ śubham* | *pādādhāre tu brahmāṇī kālāṅgyavādhidhārakī*.

<sup>463</sup> The name of the goddess of this city is Vettavāsīnī in the *Niśaṃcāra* (f. 17v [4.43]; em.: *veṭṭavāsīnī Cod.*) *Veṭrakacchanivāsī* in the *Kubjikāmatā* (22.37; em. [MSS E and K : *Veṭrakacchanivāsī* BCDJG : *caitrakacchanivāsī Ed.*], and *Veṭrā* in the *Kālikākulakarmāraṇa* (em.: *vatrā Cod.*). In the Buddhist version we see *Vettāḍa* in the *Vajradāka* (em.: *vettaheti Cod.*) and *Vettāḍa* in the *Dakṣarāṇa*. The *Vasavadattā* of Subandhu (p. 16, l. 2 to p. 17, l. 4) independently identifies her as 'the Kātyāyanyāni called Vettālā': *kusumapuraṃ...yatra...kātyāyanyāni vetālābhiddhā*. We therefore have two phonetically related but semantically unrelated names, one meaning the goddess 'who dwells in the thicket of reeds (vetra-)' and the other 'the female Vettālā', *vettāḍa-* and *vetāḍa-* being well-attested variant forms of *vetāḍa-*. I propose that the latter evolved from the former through a vernacular synonymy \**Vettālā* corresponding to Sanskrit *Vetrālayā*. Cf. Panjābī and Hindi *ālā* from Skt. *ālayaḥ*; Panjābī *śivālā*, Maithilī and Hindi *śivālā* from Skt. *śivalayaḥ*; and Panjābī *devālā* from Skt. *devālayaḥ*. The Mahāyānist *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra*'s *Candragarbhasūtra*, preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Narendrayāśas in 566, gives in its 18th chapter (*Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra*, chapter 55) a listing of the presiding deities of 55 places extending from India through Central Asia to China (55a-58a [prose]; 59a-60a [verse resumé]). The name of the guardian goddess of Pāṇaliputra is said there to be Bi-lu-chi or Bi-lu-tuo (LÉVI 1905b, p. 265). It is tempting to see this as a deformation of the same name caused by an inadvertent inversion of the last two syllables. But I am not qualified to judge the matter.

<sup>464</sup> See, e.g., *Picumata* f. 19r2-3 (4.254c-256): *guhyakādyam tato vaksye nāmata*



context outside this text-passage and its derivatives. Thus, for example, the *Niśaṃcāra* (4.10–13), covering Kolāgiri (Kolhāpur) and Jayanti, reads:

- 10 kolāgiryā-mahālakṣmī karālāyonisambhavaḥ |  
 kalarūpā sthītā devī daṇḍahastā subhīṣaṇā ||  
 11 tasmīn kṣetre sthītā devī parvatāgrasamāśritā |  
 agniketi ca vikhyātā kṣetrapālā mahāteja ||  
 12 jayantiyā-mahālakṣmī danturāyonisambhavaḥ |  
 khaḍgahastā sthītā devī sarvasattvabhayaṃkarī ||  
 13 tasmīn kṣetre sthītā devī nimbarṣṇasamāśritā |  
 mahāprete vikhyātā tasmīn kṣetre mahābalā ||

ff. 16v4–17r3

13a tasmīn kṣetre corr. : tasmīn kṣetrā Cod.

and the corresponding passage in the *Vajradāka* (18.12–14) reads:

- 12 kollagiryā mahālakṣmī karālāyonisambhavaḥ |  
 karālārūpā sthītā devī vikṛtā cātibhīṣaṇā ||  
 13 tasmīn nagare sthītā cogrā parvatāgrasamāśritā ||<sup>465</sup>

vamatas tathā || 255 raktā karālī \*caṇḍākhya (corr. : caṇḍākhya Cod.) mahocchugmā tathaiva ca | uccuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na samśayaḥ || 256 karālā danturā caiva bhīmanvaktṛ mahābalā | guhyakānucara hy etāḥ kīṇkaryo 'nukrameṇa tu 'Next I shall explain the [retinue] that begins with the Guhyakās, giving their names and colours. In [this scripture,] the Uccuṣmatantra, the names of the Guhyakās are, without doubt, Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākhya (Caṇḍāka), and Mahocchugmā. Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmanvaktṛ, and Mahābalā: these are respectively their attendant servants'. The Uccuṣmatantra is the Picumata itself (f. 185r: ity uccuṣmatantre picumate nādisamcārapataḥ sat-trimśatimāḥ). The four secondary goddesses that attend the Guhyakās are also called their Dūtīs. I have not emended caṇḍākhya, because although Caṇḍāka is the standard form of the name there are several other places in this text in which the goddess is called Caṇḍākhya.

<sup>465</sup> Both the *Niśaṃcāra* and the *Vajradāka* read parvatāgrasamāśritā (rDo rje mkha' gro l. 49r7: ri yi rtsa mo brien te gnas) 'on a hilltop' here. This is surprising because what we expect is a reference to the site's sacred tree, as in the parallel expression nimbarṣṇasamāśritā 'by a Nimba tree' in the next verse. It is tempting to emend, therefore to parvatāgrasamāśritā 'in front of a Box [tree]', since this is so close to the transmitted reading. However, two considerations oppose this: (1) in a passage on Kollāgiri in the *Picumata* (f. 7r3–4 [13.84–87]), which agrees in giving Mahālakṣmī as the goddess, Agnikā as the Kṣetrapālā, and daṇḍah as the weapon, the sacred tree of the site is said to be a Vaiṣṇavika (84 daksīṇena likhen mantri mahāghoraṃ bhayāvaham | mahāraudraṃ śmaśānāṃ tu nāmā kollagiri tathā || 85 tatra daṇḍam samālikhya madhye vaibhīṣadrumam | nādarṣṇasamāśritā kollagiryoparis tathā || 86 citibhūḥ prajvalantibhīḥ samantat parivāritam | dikṣu caiva vidikṣu ca bahis tasya mahāyase || 87 tasyādhaṣṭal likhet padmaṃ aṣṭapaṭram sahaṇīkam | agnikam kṣetrapālāṃ tu mahālakṣmībhayāvaham); and (2) in the *Kūyikāmata*'s parallel version of this material Mahālakṣmī is described as 'residing on a hill' (22.25: ag-

agnimukheti vikhyātāḥ kṣetrapālā varānaṇaḥ |  
 14 jvālāmukhī vikhyātā |  
 khaḍgahastā sthītā ghorā nimbarṣṇasamāśritā |  
 kṣetrapālā mahākāya mahāvratetī viśrutā ||

f. 42r2–4

13c vikhyātāḥ corr. : vikhyātā Cod. 14b khaḍgahastā sthītā em. : khaḍga-hastasthītā Cod.

Moreover, this Buddhist parallel provides additional evidence of the direction of redaction through the state of verse 14. For it lacks the first quarter, which contained information vital to the coherence of the passage, namely the name of the site over which the goddess Jvālāmukhī presides and the goddess of the *Picumata* to whose family she is assigned. As a result of this error, committed either by a Buddhist redactor or inherited from a defective Śaiva manuscript, what was originally the second quarter has become the first. Aware that the metrical cadences required at the end of first and second quarters of a verse in this metre are different the redactor has removed the resulting metrical blemish by substituting the synonym vikhyātā for viśrutā. But this was not enough, since to mend the unmetrical mess that resulted from the omission he would have had also to recast the quarters that follow. This was evidently beyond his competence or required more effort than he thought necessary. The result is a verse with five quarters (a, a, b, a, b) or one and a half verses of which the first half verse consists of a prior quarter without the posterior quarter required to complete it.

As for the four sites found in the *Vajradāka*'s version but not in the *Niśaṃcāra*, namely Uḍḍiyāna, Jālaṇḍhara, Tibet, and Mālava, there can be little doubt that the presence of the third is the work of a Buddhist redactor, since Tibet had no religious significance for the Śaivas but much for the Buddhists from the eighth century onwards. As for the other three, their presence might be explained by assuming that the direct source of the *Vajradāka*'s passage was not the *Niśaṃcāra* as we find it in its single surviving Nepalese manuscript but rather a closely related redaction either within another version of the *Niśaṃcāra*, such as we find in the paraphrases and citations of a work of this name in the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha's commentary,<sup>466</sup>

nikhena samopetāṃ daṇḍahastāṃ nagaukasāṃ | kolāgiry mahālakṣmīm naumi lakṣmīvārḍhanīm). The hypermetrical reading karālārūpā in 12c, which was also that of the Tibetan translation (rDo rje mkha' gro l. 42r6: gtsigs pa'i gzugs can), is no doubt an error for kalarūpā, echoing karālā in the preceding quarter.

<sup>466</sup> See the paraphrase of the *Niśaṃcāra*'s treatment of these twenty-four Śākta sacred sites in *Tantrāloka* 15.88–97b and the direct citations in Jayaratha's commentary on these verses. These show a list that differs somewhat from that found in the Nepalese manuscripts. The latter has Aṭṭhāśa, Caritra,



or within some other Śaiva source. However, this is improbable in the light of the *Vajradāka*'s treatments of all four of these sites. For what they have in common is that they deviate from the pattern of the rest of the passage in that their presiding goddesses, Mahādevī of Uḍḍiyāna, Caṇḍālinī of Jālandhara, Sahajā of Tibet, and Sekā of Mālava, are not assigned to one or other of the eight goddesses of the *Picumata*. Instead, in the case of the first three the redactor has filled in the text at these points by assigning them to the families of Guhyā (*guhyākhyāyonisambhava*), Soma (*somasambhava*), and Svayambhū (*svayambhuyonisambhava*), and in the case of the fourth omitting to assign her to any deity.<sup>467</sup> Why he chose these names is unknown to me. Only one is a goddess and not one of them is of any significance in Tantric Buddhism, unless the Svayambhū intended is that of the famous Svayambhūcāitya of Kathmandu. It seems likely that he supplied these names at random in order to maintain the compositional structure. In any case, since it would have been an easy task to insert names from among those of the eight goddesses that structure his Śaiva source, it is evident that they meant nothing to him.

The other list of sacred places appears in *Laghuśaṃvara* 41.6–15. The verses first list these places (6–8b) and then state the classes of Yoginīs and other female supernaturals said to be present in them, though without covering them all.<sup>468</sup> The Śaiva source, or rather a later redactional variant of it, is seen in the following passage in the *Tantrasadbhāva*:

Kolāgiri, Jayantī, Ujjayinī, Prayāga, Varāṇa, and Kōtivarṣa (Devikoṭṭa) (the eight Kṣetras); Virāja, Erudī, Hatapura, Elāpura, Gokarṇa, Marukēśvara, Nagaṛa (Pātāliputra), and Puṇḍravardhana (the eight Saṃdohas); and Parastira, Prṣṭhapura, Kuṇḍī, Chośmāra, Kṣirika, Māyāpurī, Amṛatīkeśvara, and Rājagṛha (the eight Upakṣetras). The list in the redaction known to Abhiravavagupta and Jayaratha has Prayāga, Varāṇa, Aṭṭāhāsa, Jayantī, Vārāṇasī, Kalīṅga, Kulūtā, and Lahulā (the eight Kṣetras); Virājā, Erudī, Hālā, Elāpura, Kṣirapurī, Nagaṛa, Māyāpurī, and Marudeśa (the eight Saṃdohas); and Jālandhara, Nepāla, Kāśmīra, Gargikā, Hara, Mlecchadigdvāravṛtti, Kurukṣetra, and Khetaka (the eight Upasaṃdohas). It is striking that this introduces a number of Himalayan regions, namely Kulūtā (Kulu), Lahulā (Lahul), Nepāla, Kāśmīra, and also Gargikā, if that refers to Garhwal. Mlecchadigdvāravṛtti 'the pass (?) to the region of the barbarians' is also likely to refer to a location in the Himalaya or Hindu Kush.

<sup>467</sup> *Vajradāka* f. 43r1–2 (18.43): 'oḍḍiyāne mahādevī (corr.: mahādevī Cod.) guhyākhyāyonisambhava | vajrasāṅghaladharā devyā sughorā divyārūpiṇī; f. 43r2–3 (18.45): jālandhare tu caṇḍālinī jñeyā mudra kaṭṭārikodiyā | somasambhava mahādevī sarvasaṃvārjā-pradāyikā (em.: dāyikā Cod.); f. 43r7–v1 (18.55): bhogaviṣṇoye saṃjākyā makaradhvajjādhārinī | svayambhuyonisambhava saumyāyā divyārūpiṇī; f. 43v1–2 (18.57): mālave tu tāṭhā sekā mudrāmudgā-dhārinī (corr.: dhārāṇī Cod.) | sādhanānām 'priyā (corr.: prayā Cod.) nityaṃ tjasasvinī prasāsāyāḥ tisyuh.

<sup>468</sup> A related system of thirty-two sacred sites is taught in *Hevajra* 1.6–10, and, with some differences, in *Mahāmudrātilaka*, Paṭala 10 (ff. 17v1–20v5).

kulūtāyām aranyeśe sindhudeśe nageśvare ||  
62 samudrukukṣyām saurāṣṭre pretapuryaṃ himālaye |  
kāñcyām lampākaviṣṇoye kalinge kauśale sthale ||  
63 trisākunī tathā caudre kāmaripe ca mālave |  
devikoṭṭe sudharāme godāvarjāḥ tāṭe 'rūde ||  
64 eṣu deśeṣu yāḥ kanyāḥ striyo vā klīnayanayaḥ |  
sarvāḥ tāḥ kāmārūpiṇyo manovēgānuvṛttayaḥ ||  
65 śeṣeṣu yās zamulpannāḥ śākīnyo ghoramātaraḥ |  
ṣaḍ yogīnyāḥ kulūtāyām aranyeśe ca mātaraḥ ||  
66 sindhudeśe bhogīnyas tu nageśe kulanāyikāḥ |  
samudrukukṣyām kāmilyāḥ saurāṣṭre gṛhadevatāḥ ||  
67 pretapuryaṃ mahākālyo rūpiṇyo himavadvirau |  
kāñcyām ambāḥ samākhyaṭā lampākaviṣṇoye 'mṛtāḥ ||  
68 kalinge uratadhārīnyāḥ kauśale pīṣitāsanaḥ |  
cakravākyāḥ sthale proktās trisākunīyāmaraḥ smṛtāḥ ||  
69 deśadvaye ca śākīnyo nāyikā vīranāyikā <h> |

...

126 yās cānyās ca vinirḍiṣṭā raudrā bhairavamātaraḥ |  
mahāmanthānarudras tu tāṣāṃ maṇḍalanāyakaḥ<sup>469</sup> ||

ff. 109v5–110r1, 111v1 (16.61c–69a, 16.126)

62a samudrukukṣyām corr.: samudrukukṣyā Cod. 62c kāñcyām em.: kāmcyā Cod. 63a caudre corr.: coḍre Cod. 64a eṣu em.: eṣa Cod. 68b trisākunīyāmaraḥ conj. [Aīśa Sandhi for trisākunīyām amaraḥ] : trisāṇyāmaraḥ Cod.

The corresponding passage of the *Laghuśaṃvara* is not present in the incomplete Sanskrit manuscript accessible to me, since the folios that contained it, covering 38.13c to the end of Paṭala 44, are among those it lacks. But it can be restored with some confidence, except in the matter of the presence or absence of a few particles, by combining the evidence of the Tibetan translation,<sup>470</sup> the

<sup>469</sup> The fact that the text of 69ab and 126 are contiguous in the Buddhist version indicates that the Śaiva text on which it drew was not the *Tantrasadbhāva*, at least not in its surviving redaction, but an earlier source to which 69c–125, which contain a further, much longer list of Śthānāyoginīs and their classification as belonging to the families of one or other of the seven Mothers (*sapta mātṛkulāni*), have been added. The alternative, that the Buddhist redactor removed this section because he had no use for this list and its scheme of classification, is not impossible. However, it seems unlikely that in that case he would have taken the special trouble of retaining 126. It is not needed to complete the sense and proved awkward to integrate because he had it in what was evidently an already corrupted form.

<sup>470</sup> bDe mchog nyung ngu, f. 238v1–5 (= *Laghuśaṃvara* 41.6–15): kuluta dang dgon pa dang | si ndhu'i yul dang grong khyer dbang | gser gyi gling dang sau rā ṣṭa | de bzhin lha yi khyim dang ni | yi dags grong dang kha ba'i gnas | kā āci 'am la mpā ka yi yul | ka li ngga dang ko sa la | tri sha ku ne o tre dang | kā ma rā pa mā la wa lha mo'i mkhar dang rā m'i dbang | go da ba ri a rū da | au dya na dzā la ndhar dang



lemmata in the surviving Sanskrit commentaries, and a rewriting of parts of the passage in the *Vajradāka*:<sup>471</sup>

41.6 kulatāyām arāṇya ca sindhudeśe nagareśvare |  
saurāṇyadeśe saurāṣṭre tathā ca gṛhadevatā  
pretapūryāḥ himālaye ||  
7 kāñcīyām lampākaviṣaye kalinge [ca] kośale |  
triśakunī tathā oḍṛe kāmārupe [ca] mālave ||  
8 devikote rāmeśvare godāvarīyā [tathā] bṛūde |  
oḍḍīyanajālandharapulliramalayādiṣu ||  
9 eṣa deśe kanyā yā virāḍvayayāpini |  
sarvās tāḥ kāmārupeṇyo manoveganīṣṭayāḥ ||  
10 ṣaḍ yagīnyāḥ kulatāyām marudeśe ca mātaraḥ |  
sindhudeśe [ca] lāmās tu nagare kulānāyikāḥ |  
11 lampāke saurāṣṭre kuladevatāḥ |  
pretapūryām mahākūlyo dākinī saha rūpiṇī ||  
12 himagirau kāñcīyām sabālikāḥ |  
pañcālaviṣaye gṛhadevatā ||  
13 kalinge vrataḍhārīnyāḥ kośale piśitāśanāḥ |  
pretapūryām vajradākyaḥ sthaleśvare ||  
14 triśakunīyām [ca] amarāḥ pulliramalaye |  
kanakagīrau antyaḥ śṭriyāḥ sahasrāṇy ekavimsatīḥ ||

[pu lli ra ma la ya sogṣ | yul 'di dag gi bu mo gang | dpa' bo gnyis med rnal 'byor ma |  
| de kun 'lōd pa'i geugs can te | yid kyi zhugs kyi 'jug pa yis | rnal 'byor ma drug ku  
lu tar | nyang ma yul na ma mo nams | si nḥu'i yul na lā ma ete | riḡs kyi gto mo  
na ga ra | la mḡ ka dang sau rā ḡra | riḡs kyi lha mo nams yin no | yi daga grong  
dang nags chen por | mkha' ḡro rā pi ka ru bees | kha ba'i ri dang kā ḡir ni | byis  
beas ma ru behad pa ete | pā fīca la yi yul dag na | khyim gyi lha mo ka li nggar  
brtūl zhugs 'dzin pa nams yin no | ko sa lar ni sha za ba | yi daga grong du de behān  
du | rdo rje mkha' ḡro shom ḡbang phyug | tri sha ku ner du ma shyes ma | pu li ra  
ma la ya de behān | gser rir sme sha can riḡs shyes | bud med along phrag nyi shu  
geig | lhaḡ ma gzan dag ji snyed pa | dpal ldan he ru ka yi ni | 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor  
ma yin no | he ru ka dpal shyor ba che de yi dhyil 'khor gto mo yin.

<sup>471</sup> *Vajradāka* f. 41v3-6 (18.3c-10b): ṣaḍ yagīnyas tu sādhanāḥ mlecchabhāṣam tu  
bhāṣitam | 18.4 kulatāyām tu marudeśe ca yā mātaraḥ || sindhu ca nagare \*ca  
yāḥ (corr.: caryā Cod.) kulānāyikāḥ | 18.5 lampāke saurāṣṭre yā <-> kuladevatāḥ  
| himagirau \*kāñcīyām yā sabālikāḥ (em.: kāñcīyām yā bālikā Cod.) | 18.6  
pañcālā gṛhadevatāyām yā kanyā sahasrārūpīṇī | kalinge \*kośale (corr.: kaulale  
Cod.) caiva vrataḍhārīṇī \*piśitāśanā (em.: piśitāśanā Cod.) | 18.7 pretapūryām  
triśakunī ca sthaleśvare khaṇḍa'rotikā (em.: rotikā Cod.) sthītā | \*pūrṇagīrau  
(corr.: pūrṇagīrau Cod.) jālandhara candālājāḥ śṭriyāḥ | 18.8 oḍṛe kāmārupe  
ca mahākūlyāḥ devikote rāmeśvare ca yā kanyā matā | \*godāvarīyām arūḍe ca  
(corr.: godāvarīyābude va Cod.) dākinī paramēśvarī | 18.9 saurāṇyadeśe  
\*yathodḍīyāṇāṁ (corr.: yathodḍīyāṇāṁ Cod.) uḍḍīyanajāṇāṁ tathāiva ca | eṣa deśe  
yā kanyā vīrāḍvayayāpini | 18.10 sarvās tāḥ kāmārupeṇyo \*manoveganīṣṭayāḥ  
(corr.: manoveganīṣṭayāḥ Cod.).

15 anyāpi śeṣās ca yācātayāḥ śṛiherukasya yoginī |  
mahāmanthāna tāsām maṇḍalanāyikā ||

The words within square brackets are purely conjectural

TESTIMONIA: BhBh = Bhavabhaṭṭa ad loc.; DG = Devagupta ad loc.; JBh = Jaya-  
bhadrā ad loc.; KP = Kambalapāda ad loc.; Tib. = bDe mchog nyung ngu; VD =  
*Vajradāka* f. 41v3-6 (18.3c-10b).

LEMMATA: 6a kulatāyām ityādina BhBh • arāṇyam marubhūmih JBh 6d  
gṛhadevatitī saptamilopāḥ BhBh 8a arāṇya rāmeśvare JBh 8cd oḍḍīyanajālan-  
dharapulliramalayā ādibhūta yeṣām tu oḍḍīyanajālandharapulliramalayādayo  
rḥudādayāḥ BhBh; pulliramalayo na nirdiṣṭāḥ JBh 9ab eṣa deśe KP, BhBh.  
VD • yā kanyā vīrāḍvayayāpini VD, BhBh, KP; bu mo gang dpa' bo gnyis med  
rnal 'byor ma (yā kanyā vīrāḍvayayoginī) Tib.; 9c kāmārupeṇya itī BhBh, VD  
9d manoveganīṣṭayā itī BhBh, KP, VD 10a ṣaḍ yagīnyāḥ BhBh, KP, JBh, VD  
10b marudeśe BhBh, KP • mātara itī BhBh; mātaraḥ kākāśādyāḥ JBh 10ab  
kulatāyām marudeśe ca mātaretyādī KP, VD 10c lāmās tu itī JBh; lāmā itī BhBh  
10d kulānāyikāḥ JBh, BhBh 11ab la mḡ ka dang sau rā ḡra Tib.; lampāke  
saurāṣṭre yā <-> kuladevatāḥ VD; lampāyām saurāṣṭre kuladevatāḥ BhBh; 11c  
mahākūlyo mahābhairavaḥ 11cd pretapūryām mahākanyā dākinīsaḥarārūpīṇī  
BhBh; dākinībhir itī saḥarāḥ tṛītyā | kimbhūṭābhīḥ saha | rūpiṇyāḥ | rūpiṇī  
anyā rūpiṇyāḥ cumbikāsabālikāprabhṛtāyāḥ pṛthagbhūṭāḥ saha rūpiṇībhir itī  
drasṭṛyāḥ 12ab himagirau kāñcīyām sabālikā itī BhBh 12cd pañcālaviṣaye |  
gṛhadevatā gṛhadevatāyām BhBh; pañcālā itī JBh 13a ka li nggar | brtūl zhugs  
'dzin pa nams yin no (kalinge vrataḍhārīnyāḥ) Tib.; kalinge ca vrataḍhārīnyāḥ  
BhBh 13b kośale piśitāśanāḥ BhBh 13cd pretapūryām vajradākyaḥ BhBh  
14cd pulliramalaye kanakagīrau itī | iḥānyāḥ śṭriyāḥ | sahasrāṇy ekavimsatī  
itī bāhulyasūcanārtham BhBh; sahasrāṇy ekavimsatī itī KP 15ab śeṣānyesu  
yācātayāḥ śṛiherukacakraḡyoginītyādī KP, BhK (lhaḡ ma gzan dag ji snyed  
pa | dpal ldan he ru ka yi ni | 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor ma yin no), DG (lhaḡ ma  
gzan nams ji snyed pa | dpal ldan he ru ka yi ni | 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor ma yin  
no); śeṣānyesu hi yāvantaḥ itī | śṛiherukasya yoginīti prath-mābahuvaṇalope  
BhBh; anyā api śeṣās ca devatāyāḥ śṛiherukayogīnyāḥ JBh (cf. DG: lha mo gzan  
dag ji snyed pa | dpal ldan he ru ka yi ni | zhes bya ba la sogṣ pa smos so | ji  
ltaḡ zhen | he ru ka yi shyor chen las | de yi dhyil 'khor gto mo yin | zhes bya  
ba la sogṣ pa la) 15cd mahāmanthāna itī śṛiherukasya manthānuvōgyāḥ |  
tāsām itī nirdhāraṇe ṣaṣṭhi | maṇḍalanāyikā itī triacakraḡvartīnyāḥ caturvimsatī  
dākīnyāḥ JBh; mahāmanthānām prajñāpāyasaḡvartapātṇam upāyo vā | tenānvitāḥ  
śṛiherukāḥ prajñāpāyasaḡvartapātṇam sambandhinīnām tāsām madhye maṇḍalanāyikā  
vajravārāhi samāpanneti bhāvāḥ | mahāmanthānām nirmāṇam nirvibhaktikam  
| tāsām nirmāṇam śṛiherukenaiva sampādyam yataḥ | śṛiherukamahāmudrā-  
maṇḍalanāyiketi kecit BhBh

In the Buddhist version the total of twenty-one sites has been raised by the  
addition of Oḍḍīyāna, Jālandhara, and Pulliramalaya at the end of the first sec-  
tion (8cd). The reason for the addition is made explicit in the *Laghuśaṃvara*  
itself; but the fourth Paṭala had listed twenty-four Yoginīs from Mahāvīryā to  
Pracandā;<sup>472</sup> and in the ritual system followed by the commentators and the

<sup>472</sup> *Laghuśaṃvara* f. 4v4-6: \*tato (JAYABHADRA : tataḥ Cod.) dākīnyo bhuvanāni  
vijrmbhāyanti | 4.1 mahāśṛī cakraḡvartīni mahābalā svīrā cakraḡvartīni |



corpus of explanatory Tantras the sacred sites, as we have seen, are likewise twenty-four because each is the location of one of these Yoginis. We have evidence of two stages in the modification of the text that produced this result. For the earlier redaction, attested by Jayabhadrā, states that Pulliramalaya is not mentioned in this passage but must be understood to be included.<sup>473</sup> It is clear then that his text mentioned only Oḍḍiyāna and Jālandhara in addition to the twenty-one of the Śaiva source. Jayabhadrā does not cite the actual wording of the insertion, and no other indications allow us to establish it. However, it is unlikely that the redactor took the trouble of stretching his interpolation of

the names of these two places to fill a whole line (8cd).<sup>474</sup> The later reading, *oḍḍiyānājālandharapulliramayādiṣu*, attested by the Tibetan translation and by the lemmata in the commentaries of Bhavayakīrti and Bhavabhaṭṭa, supplies the missing Pulliramalaya and, incidentally, is an almost metrical half-verse: its first half (*oḍḍiyānājālandhara*) is unmetrical, but the second is not, and together they provide the required total of sixteen syllables. As for the meaning of the insertion, ordinary usage suggests that it is 'Oḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pulliramalaya, and others'. But that would not sit well with the closed list of twenty-four Yoginis to which the sacred places were required to correspond. Thus it has been interpreted by Bhavabhaṭṭa to mean 'beginning with Oḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, and Pulliramalaya', this compound with its locative plural ending being read as qualifying the twenty-one sites, each listed in the common text with actual or virtual locative singular endings. Thus we have twenty-four Yoginis in twenty-four sites. All that was needed to make this fit the system known to the commentators was to claim that the *Laghuśaṃvara* is deliberately concealing the true order of the items, both the names of the Yoginis in Paṭala 4<sup>475</sup> and the names of the sacred sites in Paṭala 41. For in their system that order is not Oḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, and Pulliramalaya followed by the twenty-one from Kulutā to Arbuda, as the *Laghuśaṃvara* itself indicates, but the added three in reverse order followed by the twenty-one in reverse order, with the order of the Yoginis also reversed, so that the true sequence is from Praçaṇḍā in Pulliramalaya to Mahāvīryā in Arbuda.<sup>476</sup>

*śaṇḍint khaṇḍarohā cakravegā khagānanā* || 2 *haya\*karṇā* (corr. : *varṇā* Cod.) *subhadrā* ca \**śyāmādevī* (corr. : *śyāmāthau* Cod.) *tathaiiva* ca | *surābhakṣī vāyavegā tathā mahābhairavā* || 3 *airāvāt drumacchāyā laṅkeśvarī kharvarī tathā* | *utramait mahānāsā prabhāvatī caiva caṇḍakṣī praçaṇḍā* ca *sādhakā* || 4 *etāḥ siddhās tu vai pūrvaṃ caturviṃśati ḍākinyaḥ*. This list too has parallels in the *Vidyāpīṭha*, though I have found only partial matches. Thus the *Yoginisamuccāra* of *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Śaṭka* 3, gives the following list of twenty-four Yoginis whose names when uttered draw in the *Śmaśānabhūtas* (f. 202r5-7 [9.58-61]): *śarabhānā<an>ā suvīrā* ca *vajirbhā* \**rāsabhā* (conj. : *rāsibhā* Cod.) *tathā* | \**cakravartī* (corr. : *cakravartī* Cod.) ca \**śaṇḍī* (em. : *paṇḍī* Cod.) ca *khaḍgakarṇā mahātapā* || 59 *cakravegā mahāyāmā subhadrā gajakarṇikā* | *carā vai somadevī* ca *gavākṣī vāyavegagā* || 60 *airāvāt mahānāsā daṃṣṭrālī* ca *sukarāṣā* | *vedhanī* ca *tathā bhāṭā droṇā kakenakā tathā* || 61 *yatra nāmāni yoginām uccāryante mahātape* | *taira śmaśānabhūtas* ca *sāmnidhyaṃ yā<an>ti tatkaṇḍāt*. The eight names in bold characters are those that are among the twenty-four of the *Laghuśaṃvara*. Compare also the names *Śarabhānā*, *Khaḍgakarṇā*, *Gajakarṇikā*, and *Somadevī* with the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s *Khagānanā*, *Hayakarṇā*, and *Śyāmādevī*. The names of four of the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s *Ḍākinīs* are found among the fourteen inner goddesses of the *Picumata*, i.e., the four *Guhyaśās*, their four *Dūtīs*, and the six Yoginis, namely *Caṇḍakṣī* (the third *Guhyaśā*), *Mahābalā* (the fourth *Dūtī*), and *Cakravegā* and *Mahānāsā* (the fifth and sixth Yoginis). For the first eight see 4.254c-256 cited here p. 193. For the six Yoginis see f. 19r3 (4.257): *kroṣṭukī vījāyā caiva gajakarṇā mahāmukhī* | *cakravegā mahānāsā* *śaḍ yuginyaḥ prakṛitāḥ*. *Suvīrā* appears in *Kubjikāmata* 21.45c and *Matasāra* f. 138r1, *Khagānanā* as one of the eight *Śāktasiddhās* of the *Kālikula/Krama*, *Laṅkeśvarī* in *Matasāra* f. 81r1 as one of eight Yoginis in a variant of the inner retinue of the *Picumata*, and *Prabhāvatī* in *Kubjikāmata* 11.115a and 12.23b.

<sup>473</sup> See here p. 158. *Kāpha*, *Yogaratnamālā* on *Hevajra* 1.7.12, identifies Pulliramalaya with *Pūrnagiri* and that appears in its place in listings of these sacred places in later texts of the *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle, as in *Saṃvarodaya* 9.14. In the treatment of the thirty-two sacred sites of the *Hevajra* system in the tenth Paṭala of the *Mahāmudrātilaka* we find *Pūrnagiri* and *Pullira* denoting the same place (f. 17r5-v1: *oḍḍiyānaṃ pīṭham ākhyātaṃ pīṭham jālandharāṃ smṛtaṃ | pīṭham pūrnagiriś caiva kāmārūpaṃ tathaiiva* ca ... f. 18r1-2: *śīrasī śhīṭaṃ vajrapīṭhaṃ śikhāyāḥ jādīsāṃjñitāṃ | pullirāṃ mistake jñeyāṃ bhṛnradīkye kāmārūpakam*). On the location of *Pūrnagiri*, in the Deccan, see SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 298-299. In Śākta Śaiva sources it is one of the principal Pīṭhas and is never referred to, but is never under the name Pulliramalaya/Pullira.

<sup>474</sup> The frequent deviations from correct metrical form in this corpus create the impression that the redactors were largely indifferent to this aspect of composition, happily inserting and deleting without feeling the need to rewrite the result to conform to the rules of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The alternative, that they lacked not the inclination but the ability to do so, seems to me less likely. In the texts of the Śaiva *Vidyāpīṭha*, even when the Sanskrit is of a register well below that of the learned, the metrical structure is generally sound. Indeed since we find forms from both learned and scriptural (*Aiśa*) registers used in the same texts it seems that by drawing on both the redactors were not only asserting that their compositions were divine rather than human utterances but also making the task of metrical composition easier for themselves by using an *Aiśa* form that fitted the metre when the Paninian would not, as, for example, in the case of the not infrequent use of *Aiśa* genitives plural in *-ām* in place of the Paninian *-ānam*.

<sup>475</sup> On the passage listing the twenty-four Yoginis/Ḍākinīs in Paṭala 4 Jayabhadrā comments (*Cakrasaṃvarapāñjikā*, p. 115): *trīcakrayavasthitānāṃ ḍākinīnāṃ prthak prthak nāmāni kathyante | mahāvīryetyādina vilomena katham*. 'The names of each of the Ḍākinīs that occupy the three circuits are now taught. This has been done in the reverse order, beginning with Mahāvīryā [and ending with Praçaṇḍā]'. The order in which Mahāvīryā is the last and Praçaṇḍā the first, the order of their ritual application, is, however, indicated later in the text, in f. 35r7 (48.13): *yuginyaḥ praçaṇḍādayas tathā*.

<sup>476</sup> Bhavabhaṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvarapāñjikā*, f. 126v1-3 (Ed. p. 547): *oḍḍiyānājālandhara-*



Most of the few other differences between the version in *Laghuśaṃvara* 41 and that seen in the Śaiva source are of little significance. But there is one that is more revealing. The *Tantrasadbhāva* has Sthala between Kosala and Trīśakuni (16.62c-63b: *kāñeyāṃ lampākaviṣaye kalinge kauśale sthale* | *trīśakunis tathā caudre kāmārūpe ca malave*), whereas the *Laghuśaṃvara* lacks it (41.7: *kāñeyāṃ lampākaviṣaye kalinge cāiva* | *kosale* | *trīśakunis tathā oḍre kāmārūpe* | *ca* | *malave*), and instead between Saurāṣṭra and Pretapuri has *Gṛhadevatā* (41.6: *kulātāyāṃ arāṇye ca sindhudeśe nagarēṣvare* | *suvarṇadīpe saurāṣṭre tathā ca gṛhadevatā pretapuryāṃ himālaye*), which the *Tantrasadbhāva* lacks (16.61c-62b: *kulātāyāṃ arāṇye sindhudeśe nagarēṣvare* | *samudrakukṣyāṃ saurāṣṭre pretapuryāṃ himālaye*). Two features are immediately obvious here. The first is that the additional words *tathā ca gṛhadevatā* have been added to an otherwise metrically correct verse with the result that it has five Pādas rather than the required four, with the fourth and fifth both with the cadence restricted to the second and fourth Pādas of the Anuṣṭubh, thus crudely violating the required metrical alternation of evenly and unevenly numbered Pādas that is hallmark of this metre. The second is that *Gṛhadevatā*, meaning 'household deity' is a most implausible place name. The key to the mistake, which became a permanent part of the ritual system of the Cakrasaṃvara cycle, is in the second part of the passage in the version of the *Tantrasadbhāva*, which tells the reader the classes of supernaturals that are present in the sacred sites. For there *gṛhadevatāḥ* 'household deities' are said to be present in Saurāṣṭra in a verse in which the items Saurāṣṭra, *gṛhadevatāḥ*, and Pretapuri are stated in that order (16.66c-67b: *samudrakukṣyāṃ kāmilyas saurāṣṭre gṛhadevatāḥ* | *pretapuryāṃ mahākālye rūpiṇyo himavadvirau* 'In Samudrakukṣi Kāmpilis, in Saurāṣṭra *Gṛhadevatāḥ*, in Pretapuri Mahākālis, in Himālaya Rūpiṇis'). Evidently the redactor has read the sequence *saurāṣṭre gṛhadevatāḥ pretapuryāṃ* as though these were three sites rather than one site followed by its resident supernaturals and another site. Probably his manuscript read *gṛhadevatā* rather than *gṛhadevatāḥ* and he took it as a stem-form to be understood as locative, a licence of kind seen elsewhere in both the *Laghuśaṃvara* and its Śaiva sources, as, apparently, in the unmetrical insertion that this error prompted: *suvarṇadīpe saurāṣṭre tathā ca gṛhadevatā pretapuryāṃ himālaye*. Bhavabhāṭa duly comments on the occurrence of *gṛhadevatā* in that

part of the passage with the words *gṛhadevateti saptamilopāt* 'We have the form] *gṛhadevatā* [here] because zero has been substituted for the ending of the locative'.

The direction of redaction is also unmistakable in the passage of the *Laghuśaṃvara* (1.15-4.1) (B) that prescribes the ritual of initiation. This has evidently been redacted on the basis a Śaiva source of which an expanded variant is seen in 8.3-28 of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* (A) redacted in the *Jayadrathayāmala*:

| A                                                                                                                                                                       | B                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8.3 girigahvaraguhyeṣu                                                                                                                                                  | 1.15 girigahvarakuñjeṣu                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>mahodadhitāṣeṣu ca</i><br><i>ādisiddhe śmaśāne vā</i><br><i>ālikhe maṇḍalaṃ śubham</i>                                                                               | <i>mahodadhitāṣeṣu vā</i><br><i>ādisiddhe śmaśāne ca</i><br><i>tatra maṇḍalaṃ ālikhet</i>                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>iti herukābhīdhāne</i><br><i>maṇḍalāvatāropatālāḥ prathamāḥ</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 8.4 śmaśānabhasmanā mīraṇ<br>kapilāgomayaṃ śubham<br>raktodakavimīreṇa<br>tena bhūmiṃ pralepayet                                                                        | 2.1 tatra pānagomayena<br>maṇḍalabhūmi pralepayet<br>śmaśānabhasmanā yuktaṃ<br>pañcāmṛtasamanvītam<br>2.2 upalīpya tato bhūmiṃ<br>tatra maṇḍalaṃ ārabhet<br>śmaśānaṃ tu samācāret<br>2.3 cītyaṅgācārāṇa<br>śmaśāneṣṭakasaṃyutam<br>ālikhe maṇḍalaṃ divyaṃ<br>ācāryaḥ susaṅkapaṇaḥ |
| 8.5 śmaśānabhasma saṃgrhya<br>śmaśāne ḥṭṭadalaṃ śubham<br>śmaśānāṅgācārāṇaṃ tu                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>trirekhaṃ maṇḍalaṃ likhet</i><br>8.6 ekahastaṃ dvihastaṃ vā<br>caturaṅgākaṃ tathā<br>Cf. B 2.12cd<br>sūtrayed rudhīrāktena<br>śaivasūtreṇa sūtradrk<br>Cf. B 2.11cd. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 8.7 akrodhanaṃ śucir dakṣo<br>ācāryo jñānapāragāḥ<br>kapālamālābhārāṇo<br>raudrabhasmāvagunṭhitāḥ                                                                       | 2.4 samyagjñānatantrajñāḥ<br>śrīherukamantrajñāḥ<br>akrodhanaḥ śucir dakṣo<br>yogajñānapāragāḥ<br>2.5 kapālakṛtamūrdhajāḥ<br>bhasmānuliptāṅgaḥ                                                                                                                                    |

*pulliramalaya ābhūta yēṇa ta oḍḍiyāṇajalandharapulliramalayādayo* 'rūda-  
dayaḥ kulātāḥ' | *bhāvaḥ cāyaḥ* \**pulliramalayam ādim* (Cod. : *pulliramalayādim*  
Ed.) *kṛtvā jalandharauddiyānārūddāyāṃ santīty upadeśārtham tyatikrama-*  
*nīrdeśaḥ* | *etena maṇḍale śrīre ca pulliramalayādīṇa yoginīyāṣaḥ kathitāḥ*;  
fl. 126v6-127r1 (Ed. p. 547) *pulliramalayādīṇa prapaṇḍāyā oṃ kara kara*  
PRACANDE HŪM HŪM PHAD ityādīmantraja bhāṣyaḥ.



Genesis and Development of Tantrism

8.8 pañcamudrūratadhara  
bhairavāṅgair vibhūṣitāḥ  
mahābhūtastraṇḍalena  
samantāt pariveṣṭitam

8.9 alikhen maṇḍalavaram  
ghorasiddhipradāyakam

caturaśraṇ caturdvāraṇ

madhye padmavibhūṣitam  
8.10 aṣṭapaṭraṇ tu tat padmaṇ  
kaṇṭhikādhīṣṭhitam śubham  
tasya madhye nyased devi  
bhairavaṇ bhīmaṇvikramam  
8.11 dakṣiṇābhīmukhaṇ dīptaṇ  
bhīmarūpaṇ bhayāvaham

tasyāgrataḥ sthītā devī  
aghorā ghoravikramā

8.12 bhairavābhīmukhāḥ kṛuddhāḥ  
raudrarūpaṇ nyaset tataḥ

...

8.19c tataḥ śiṣyān praveśayet  
sopavāsūn śucin snātān  
arcayed uttarāmukhān

8.20 kapālena śiraḥ spṛṣṭvā  
saṇṇipatān hrdaye nyaset  
khaṭvāṅgena tu sarvāṅgān  
ālabhet putrakasya tu

saṁbhavān mātair vibhūṣitaḥ

mudrāmantrair alamkṛtām

2.11 alikhen maṇḍalaṇ ghorāṇ

mahāsiddhipradāyakam

tato mṛtakasūtreṇa

mahārudhirarāṅgīlena vā

Cf. A 8.6cd

2.12 sūtrāyē maṇḍalaṇ ghorāṇ

herukasya paraṇ puram

ekahastāṇ catur aṣṭāṇ ca

Cf. A 8.6ab

caturasraṇ tu samantataḥ

2.13 caturdvārasamākīrṇaṇ

caturtorāṇabhūṣitam

vicared dviguṇaṇ mantri

yajed dakṣiṇāśaṇḍavaram

2.14 tasya madhye pratiṣṭhāpya

sapaṭraṇ kaṇṭhikāṇjvalam

puṣkaraś ca keśarānḍilam

2.15 kaṇṭhikāyāṇ nyased vīraṇ

mahābhairava bhīṣaṇam

tejasakaṇ tu sudiptāṅgam

aṣṭāṅgāśamahāravam

2.16 kapālamālābharaṇaṇ

divyaṇ trinetraṇ caturmukham

hastīcarmāvaruddhaṇ ca

vajrasaṇbhīnasabhīruvam

2.17 khaṭvāṅgaḥkṛtaḥastāṇ tu

śatamālārādhābhūṣitam

tasyāgrataḥ sthītāṇ devīṇ

vajravārāhīṇ sughorāṇ

2.18 mahābhairavābhīmukhāḥ kṛtvā tu

trimukhīṇ raudrarūpiṇīm

...

The Śaiva Age

8.21 agṛato vādayed ghaṇṭāṇ  
paṭaḥiṇī ḍamaruṇ tathā

vastrecchannamukhaṇ devi

puṣpāñjalidharaṇ tathā

8.22 pradakṣiṇikṛtya puram

dakṣiṇāmūrtim āśritaḥ

tato dāvāpayet puṣpān

devasyopari putrakam

8.23 yasmiṇ tat palale puṣpaṇ

tat tasya kulam ādiṣet

hṛṇmantraparijāptena

tilakān teṣu kārayet

8.24 raktena darśayet tasya

mukham udghāṭya maṇḍalam

yad yasya devatāsthānaṇ

tat sarvaṇ tasya darśayet

8.25 samayān śrāvayitvā tu

praṇipatyā purāṇ guruḥ

suśrāvya pūrvavidhinā

saṇsiddhaputrakānḍilam

8.26 guruṇ saṇpāṇya vidhivad

vittasāṭhyavivarjitaḥ

pragṛhya kulajān mantrān

vratāṇś ca samayāṇś tathā

8.27 tāvad āśādhayed devi

yogīṇyā mālāro guruṇ

mātrdūtyo vratāṇś caiva

yāvadantaṇ krameṇa tu

3.2 ghaṇṭānāḍam ālambya

puṣpadhūpār alamkṛtām

ghaṇṭāṇ vādayet susarām

paṭaḥikam vāpi sādhaḥ

3.3 kākakāraṇ ca kārayet

evam vidhivā pūjya

maṇḍalaṇ sarvakāmikam

3.4 saṇchādya paṭaṣastreṇa

mukhaṇ teṣāṇ tu putrakam

puṣpāñjalim prakṣipet

3.5 pradakṣiṇaṇ ca tataḥ kṛtvā

sādhaḥ susamāhitaḥ

praveśayet tat puravaram ramaṇ

dakṣiṇāmūrtim āśṛitya

3.6 puṣpāñjalim tataḥ kṣipet

maṇḍalasopari

yasmiṇ patati tat puṣpaṇ

kulaṇ tatra vinirdiṣet

3.7 śīrīrūḍḍipīṭha darśayet

tataḥ pūjyē mudrām

ācāryaḥ susamāhitaḥ

3.8 śiṣyāṇān tu dvitīye ahani

raktena trijāptena

tilakaṇ tasya kārayet

mukhaṇ udghāṭya śiṣyaṇ

darśayē maṇḍalaṇ tataḥ

3.9 yad yasya devatāsthānaṇ

tatra tāṇ darśayet samyak

praṇipatyā tataḥ paścād

3.11 tates tu gurave dadyāt

tathāgatoktadakṣiṇām

...

3.15c tatas tasya tuṣṇanti

dākinyo yogamātarāḥ

dākinyo lāmayaś caiva

khaṇḍarohā tu rūpiṇī



8.28 ārdhanakramād yāti  
trisaṁcārasodhitaḥ  
bhairavibhūvanā devī

4.1 tato dāhinyo bhuvanāni  
vijrabhavyanti mahādevī

sarvasaktibhū āryaḥ

# APPARATUS CRITICUS OF A

Codd.: A ff. 286v2-; B ff. 182r4-; C ff. 166v3-; D ff. 200r2-; E ff. 183v7-.

8.3e ādisiddhe śmaṇe B : ādisiddhai śmaṇair ACDE 8.7a akrodhano em.  
: sakrodhano Codd. 8.10d bhairavaṃ em. : bhairavī Codd. 8.11d vikramā  
em. : vikramān AC : vikramā B : vikramāt DE. Cf. Picumata 1.2d: aghori  
bhīmaṣṭkramā 8.10d uttarāmukhān em. : uttarāmukham C : uttarāmukham  
ABDE 8.20b sampatāṃ cor. : sampatā Codd. 8.20e sarvāgān em. : sarvāgā  
ACD : sarvāga B 8.21a vādayet conj. : vādaye Codd. 8.21b pajahīm em.  
: pajaho Codd. : dāmarāṃ em. : dāmaras Codd. 8.21d dharaṃ em. : varaṃ  
Codd. 8.22d putrakāṃ em. : putrakāḥ Codd. 8.25a samayāḥ em. : samayaṃ  
Codd. : śrāvayitū B : śrāvayitū Codd. 8.25d saṁsiddhaputrakāṇvītam conj.  
: saṁsiddham putrakāṇvītam A : saṁsiddham putrakāṇvītam BCDE 8.28a  
ārdhana conj. : arpanā Codd. : kramād yāti conj. : kramaprāpti Codd.

# APPARATUS CRITICUS OF B

Cod.: f. 2r3-. TESTIMONIA : AbhU = Abhidhānottara 46.10-57 (A f. 146r6- [*La-  
ghuśaṁvara* 2.1-]j), BhBh = Bhavabhāṭṭa ad loc; BhK = Bhavakīrti ad loc; IBh =  
Indrabhūti ad loc; JBh = Jayabhadrā ad loc; SV = Śāśvatavajra ad loc; Tib. =  
bDe mehog nyung ngu; VV = Viravajra ad loc.

1.15e ādisiddhe BhBh : ādisiddha Cod. 2.1a tatra pāṇagomayena Cod. AbhU,  
BhBh, SV (chu dang ba byung blangs 'water and cow dung') : \*tatrāpāṇagomayena  
Tib. (der ni lei ba ma lung bas), BhK (de la lei ba ma lung bas) 2.1b prale-  
payet Cod., AbhU : upalepayet BhBh 2.3a cityāgūra BhBh : cityāgūra  
Cod. : cityāgūra AbhU 2.5b saṁyutam conj. (= AbhU); cf. Picumata  
5.116d: kākaviṣṭa samādāya śmaṇeśśaṣasanyutam : saṁyuktam Cod. 2.4a  
saṁyagjñāntantaratāḥ Cod., BhBh : saṁyagjñānena tattvotāḥ AbhU 2.4c  
akrodhān JBh AbhU : akrodhā ca Cod. BhBh 2.11d mahārudhirarājītena  
vā Cod., Tib. (de nas cens med erad bu 'am | ru di ra ni chen pos brlan)  
mahārudhirarājītena vā BhBh : mahārudhirarājītena AbhU, Tib. 2.13d yajed  
JBh : japed Cod. : pūjayed BhBh, Tib. (mkha' 'gro dra ba'i bde mehog mehod)  
2.17e tasyāgrataḥ sthitāṃ devīm JBh, BhBh, Tib. (de mdun gnaz pa'i lha  
mo ni) : tasyāgrataḥ sthitā devī Cod. 2.18a mahābhairavābhīmukhāḥ kṛtvā  
tu JBh : mahābhairavābhīmukhāḥ AbhU, VV (rab 'jigs byed che la phyogs)  
śriherukābhīmukhāḥ kṛtvā tu Cod. BhBh : \*mahāśriherukābhīmukhāḥ Tib.  
(he ru ka dpal che la phyogs) : \*śriherukajñānābhīmukha- (he ru ka dpal  
ye shes phyogs ni IBh 3.2e vādayet Cod. : vādayet BhBh 3.3a pūjya BhBh :  
sāmpūjya Cod. 3.4b putrakāṃ em. [Aīsa gen. pl.; =AbhU] : putrakān BhBh :  
putrakāṇam Cod. 3.7a śriherukādīpitha BhBh (śriherukādīpitheti dīpītyalope)  
: śriherukādīpīthān Cod. 3.7b tātāḥ pūjayan mudrām ācāryaḥ susamāhitāḥ  
BhBh, Tib. (de nas slob dpon kye par ni | nyamam par bzhag ste phyag rgya  
mehod) tātāḥ pūjayan mudrācāryaḥ susamāhitā Cod. : tātāḥ pūjayan mudrām  
ācāryaḥ susamāhitā AbhU : tātāḥ pūjayan mudrām susamāhitāḥ  
JBh 3.9a yad yajya JBh, BhBh : ya yajya Cod., AbhU

Here we see several tell-tale signs. In the Buddhist version the disciples  
undergoing the initiation are referred to as *putrakāḥ* (3.4ab: *saṁcchādyā  
pajavastreṇa mukhaṃ teṣāṃ tu putrakāṃ* 'Having covered the faces of those  
disciples with a piece of cloth'), a term that is standard in this technical sense  
in the Śaiva literature but to my knowledge appears with it nowhere else in  
Buddhist Tantric sources.

In 2.15 the installation of the main deity in the centre of the initiation  
Maṇḍala is described as follows: *karṇikāyāṃ nyased viraṃ mahābhairava  
bhīṣaṇam* 'On the pericarp [at the centre of the lotus diagram] he should install  
the terrifying Vira Mahābhairava'. The Śaiva version (8.10cd) has *tasya madhye  
nyased devi bhairavaṃ bhīmaṣṭkramam* 'O Devī, in the centre of that [lotus] he  
should install Bhairava of terrible might'. But for this parallel we might have  
been tempted to read the Buddhist version not as *mahābhairava bhīṣaṇam*, with  
*mahābhairava* as a stem-form substituted for the accusative *mahābhairavaṃ*  
for metrical convenience, a common licence in this register of the language,  
but as *mahābhairavabhīṣaṇam*, preferring a pleonasm 'most frightening [and]  
terrible' to a reading that shows the name of the deity of the Vidyāpīṭha, a clear  
sign of incomplete assimilation.

The Śaiva text follows this with *tasyāgrataḥ sthitāṃ devīm aghorāṃ  
ghoravīkramāṃ* | *bhairavābhīmukhāṃ kruddhāṃ raudrarūpāṃ* *nyaset tātāḥ*  
'Then he should install the goddess Aghorā of frightening might standing before  
him, facing Bhairava, furious and of terrible aspect'. The Buddhist version  
first inserts a description of some of the male deity's iconographic features  
and then returns to redact its Śaiva exemplar as follows: *tasyāgrataḥ sthitāṃ  
devīm vajravārāḥīm suhorām* | *mahābhairavābhīmukhāḥ kṛtvā tu trinetrīm  
raudrarūpīṇīm* '[and] the most frightening goddess Vajravārāhi standing be-  
fore him, three-eyed, of terrible aspect, making her face Mahābhairava'. The  
Buddhist name of Heruka's consort has been inserted but the redactor has not  
troubled to do the same for Heruka, leaving the Śaiva name unchanged. The  
accessible Sanskrit manuscript does give the name of Heruka here, reading  
*śriherukābhīmukhāḥ kṛtvā tu*, and this reading is supported by the commenta-  
tors Bhavabhāṭṭa (*śriherukābhīmukhāḥ kṛtvā*) and Indrabhūti (*he ru ka dpal  
ye shes phyogs ni* [*\*śriherukajñānābhīmukha-*]), and the Tibetan translation (*he  
ru ka dpal che la phyogs* [*\*mahāśriherukābhīmukha-*]). But it is certain that  
this is a later improvement, because *mahābhairavābhīmukhāḥ kṛtvā tu* is what  
we find in the older redaction attested in Jayabhadrā's commentary, and in the  
text as incorporated in the *Abhidhānottara* (*mahābhairavābhīmukhāḥ*). It is  
also supported by the commentary on the later form of the *Laghuśaṁvara* by  
Viravajra, who gives *rab 'jigs byed che la phyogs* 'facing Mahābhairava' here.



Further, in most places where a Buddhist imprint is visible the text becomes unmetrical. This is most economically explained by the hypothesis stated above<sup>477</sup> that what we are seeing is a Śaiva source after its redaction by a Buddhist with little concern for metrical accuracy.<sup>478</sup>

Finally, the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s account of initiation is remarkably un-Buddhist in its content. This is not so much because it adheres so closely to the structure and detail of the ceremony outlined in the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*, including such distinctive details as the pitching of the lines of the Maṇḍala with a cord soaked with human blood and made from the hair or sinews of a corpse (2.11), the use of such substances as the five nectars of the body (*pañcāmṛtam*) and the ash and powdered charcoal of cremation pyres on the ground of the Maṇḍala (2.1-3),<sup>479</sup> the beating of a drum in its worship (3.2-3), and the marking of the

<sup>477</sup> See here p. 190.

<sup>478</sup> See 2.4ab: *samyagjñānatrañjāḥ śrīherukamantrañjāḥ*; 2.13d: *yajed dhānījāśaṃvaram*; and 3.7a: *śrīherukadīpītha darśayet*. The reading *mahābhairavābhīmukhāṃ kṛtvā tu* (2.18a) probably represents a first attempt to differentiate the Buddhist version from its metrical Śaiva prototype by adding *mahā*.

<sup>479</sup> This substitution of inauspicious and dangerous substances in the preparation of the Maṇḍala is a marked feature of accounts of initiation found in Vidyāpīṭha texts. See, e.g., *Picumata* f. 5v1 (3.12ab), concerning the Aghorimaṇḍala: *asthi-cūrṇatadaṅgārāḥ mantrajño ṭlikhet puram* 'The mantra-master should draw the Maṇḍala with powdered bone and charred bone'; f. 5v6 (3.13ab): *śmaśānothēna sūtreṇa sūtrakāryaṃ tu kārayet* 'He should do the outlining with a cord from the cremation ground'; f. 10r2-3 (3.184-185): *śmaśānothāni bhāṇāni vastasūtrādīkāni tu | vāstrai- < > dhvajā tu kartavyā sūtreṇa karaṇī tatāḥ || keśair darbhā < > yathānyāyam \*acchināgrān* (corr.: *acchināgrāḥ* Cod.) *prakalpayet | vṛṣṇayam maṇḍalaṃ tais tu astrajapāṭhāḥ samantataḥ* 'The vases, cloths and cords should be made with what has come from cremation grounds. With [funeral] shrouds he should make the banners and with threads [therefrom] the pitching cord. With the hair [of corpses] he should provide the uncut-ended stems of [protective] Darbha grass. After empowering them with the weapon-[mantra] he should surround the maṇḍala with them'; *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 65v7 (*Rāvinītyāgaṇaḥ*, [concerning the Maṇḍala of Rāvinī in the Kālikula section of the *Jayadrathayāmala*tantra], v. 101cd: *śvasūtreṇa saṃsūtrīya asthicārṇādibhir likhet* 'He should colour [the Maṇḍala] with powdered [human] bone and the like after pitching its lines with a corpse-cord'; *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 200r5-6: *sūtrāyē rudhirāktēna \*śvasūtreṇa* (corr.: *śvasūtreṇa* Cod.) 'He should outline the Maṇḍala with a corpse-cord smeared with blood'. The nature of this cord is indicated by Kṣemarāja on *Śvacchandatantra* 13.21b: *mṛtasūtreṇa vakṣyamāṇacchumakāyuktyā mṛtasnāyūnā* 'The expression 'with a corpse-thread' means 'with the sinew of a corpse' in accordance with the secret vocabulary to be taught below'. He refers here to *Śvacchandatantra* 15.5: *snāyūḥ sūtram prakṛititam* 'The word cord means sinew'. This understanding is also seen in Buddhist Tantric literature. In his commentary (*piṇḍārthaṭṭhā*) on the *Hecvajratāntra* Vajragarbha glosses *śmaśānasūtreṇa* 'cremation ground cord' as *ro'i rgyas pa rnam kyis byas pa'i srang bus* 'a cord made from the sinews of a [human] corpse' (SNELL-GROVE 1959, Pt. 1, p. 51, n.1, who mistranslates this to refer to 'a thread made

foreheads of the candidates with human blood (3.8).<sup>480</sup> It is more because the redactor has not added what from the time of the *Mahāvairocanaśāmbodhi* onwards had been the most marked characteristic of the Mantranaya's adaptation of Śaiva Maṇḍala initiation, namely the series of consecrations known as *abhiṣekaḥ*. The commentators evidently could not accept that this crucial Buddhist signature might be absent. For they have resorted to strained exegesis in order to impose it. Jayabhadra claims that the terse injunction to worship the Muḍrā in 3.7 alludes to the *guhyaḥhiṣekaḥ*, in which the Guru unites with a consort (*mudrā*) and the candidate swallows the semen. Then avoiding the difficult task of reading in allusions to any of the six consecrations that normally preceded this climactic act in his time he simply asserts that they should be done following the procedure familiar from other Tantras.<sup>481</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, however, adopts a more bold and imaginative strategy, finding all seven con-

from the guts of a corpse'. We also read of the use of the hair of corpses for this purpose: *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 181r4: *alikhēn maṇḍalavaram tato raudreṇa bhasmanā | prathamam sūtrotyivā tu śavamūrdhajarajjūnā* 'He should draw the excellent Maṇḍala with human ash after first pitching its lines with a cord of corpse-hair'; *Siddhayogesvarīmala* 8.8: *narakeśasamutthena karpāsādimayena vā | sūtrayen maṇḍalaṃ diṇyaṃ sarvasiddhiphalodayam* 'He should trace the excellent Maṇḍala, which bestows the reward of all the Siddhis, with [a cord] made from human hair or from fibres such as cotton'. This option is no doubt fixed: cremation-ground substances for ascetics and conventional substitutes for householders; see, e.g., *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 2 f. 9v2 (*Vāmeśvarīyāgaṇaḥ*, vv. 48e-49): *vāmāmṛtādibhir lipya tatra maṇḍalam alikhēn || rajobhir \*vīramārgasthaś* (em.: *vīramārgasthaś* Cod.) *\*cityāṅgārādibhasmabhiḥ (cityāṅgārādī conj.: cityāṅgārādī Cod\* : citāt- < > rādī Cod\*) | ratnādisāljītais ca grhasṭhaś cālīkhet tataḥ* 'Having smeared [the ground] with wine and the like he should draw the Maṇḍala upon it with powders such as the charcoal and ash of funeral pyres, if he follows the path of Heroes, and with [ground] precious stones or rice flour [etc.], if he is a householder'.

<sup>480</sup> Both versions say only that this is to be done 'with blood' (*rakṣena*). But a variant specifying human blood (*mahārakṣena*) is attested by the Tibetan translation (*mtshal chen gsum lan bzlas pa yis* [*mahārakṣena trijoṣṭena*]) and the commentators Durjayacandra (*mtshal chen lan gsum bzlas pa yis*), Viravajra (id.), and Indrabhūti (*mtshal chen ni*).

<sup>481</sup> Jayabhadra, *Cakrasaṃvaropaniṣā*, p. 114, ll. 9-11: *kulaṃ tasya vinirīḍeḥ (3.6) itiparyantaṃ sukaram eva | tadānantaram tantrānantaraprasiddhena vidhinā sarvaṃ abhiṣekaṃ nivartyedānti guhyābhiṣekavidhipradhānatvāt pūjāyē mudrām (3.7) ityādinā guhyābhiṣekaṃ stacyati* 'The text up to 'he should indicate his Family' is easy. He now alludes to the *guhyaḥhiṣekaḥ* with the words beginning 'he should worship the Muḍrā'. He does so because this is the most important [of the consecrations]. [It is should be understood that] he should worship the Muḍrā [i.e. the consort] after he has completed the whole consecration [process that should be performed] immediately after that [determining of the candidate's Family by casting the flower] following the procedure that is well known from other Tantras'. The expression 'the whole consecration', though singular, should be understood to refer to the whole sequence of the consecrations that precede the *guhyaḥhiṣekaḥ*.



secreations up to and including the *guhābhīṣekah* in 3.2-3.3a: *ghanṭānādam alambya pūṣpadhūpair alamkṛtām | ghanṭām vādayet susvarām patahikam vāpi sādhaḥ | hāhākāraṃ ca kārayet* 'Resorting to the resonance of the bell the Sādha should ring the bell after it has been adorned with flowers and [fumigated with] incense; or he may [beat] a drum. He should also laugh wildly'. He asks us to accept that the ringing of the bell refers to the consecration of [the giving of] the bell (*ghanṭābhīṣekah*)<sup>452</sup> and, more astonishingly, that the wild laughter enjoined, literally 'the sound *hā hā*', is the consecration of [the giving of the initiatory] name (*nāmābhīṣekah*).<sup>453</sup> Having conjured up these two consecrations he then asserts that the three that precede them are therefore implicitly intended, namely the consecration with water (*udakābhīṣekah*), the consecration with the crown (*makūṭābhīṣekah*), and the consecration with the Vajra (*vajrādhipatyābhīṣekah*).<sup>454</sup> He then subjects this same passage to a second reading in order to force it to refer also to the two consecrations that follow these five: the *ācāryābhīṣekah*, which qualifies the initiate to officiate as a Vajracārya, and the consecration of the secret (*guhābhīṣekah*). He claims that in this second reading the resonance of the bell, the ringing of the bell, and the beating of the drum refer to the Guru's uniting for the purpose of the second of these consecrations with a girl of twenty-five, twelve, or sixteen respectively.<sup>455</sup>

Having made the text refer to the *guhābhīṣekah*, he finds the *ācāryābhīṣekah* by using the same argument that he had employed to arrive at the full sequence of the five consecrations that precede it, namely that its presence is entailed by the supposed reference to the *guhābhīṣekah*, because that requires it as its antecedent.<sup>456</sup> He finds a reference to the final consecration that he needed to discover here, that of wisdom (*prajñābhīṣekah*), in the statement in 3.7 that Jayabhadrā had taken to allude to the preceding *guhābhīṣekah*: *tataḥ pūjaya mudrām ācāryaḥ susamāhitaḥ* 'Then the Ācārya, fully concentrated, should worship the Mudrā'. If, as is highly probable, the consecration understood by Bhavabhāṭṭa here was the *prajñābhīṣekah* of the initiation manuals, then there would appear to a problem, because the active agent in that consecration was not the Ācārya but the candidate, who now unites with the consort himself. Bhavabhāṭṭa is very terse at this point but it is likely that he was attempting to remove this difficulty when he wrote that the text refers to the agent as Ācārya here because he is endowed with such qualities as self-control. I take him to mean that it is indeed the candidate rather than the officiant that is the agent here and that he is referred to as an officiant only figuratively, because he has all the qualities that are required of an officiant.<sup>457</sup> These readings are, of course,

<sup>452</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvaraṇāṭīkā*, p. 37, l. 17: *ghanṭānādam ityādina ghanṭābhīṣekah pratipadyate* 'The passage beginning with *ghanṭānādam* teaches the consecration of the bell'.

<sup>453</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvaraṇāṭīkā*, p. 38, ll. 6-7: *hāhākāraṃ ca kārayet iti | hāhākāraṃ nāmābhīṣekah | taṇḍuḥ gurubhāṭṭaḥ kārānāmanāḥ kārayet* 'In the expression "He should have the *hāhākāraḥ* done", the *hāhākāraḥ* is the consecration of the name. He should have that done for himself by the venerable Guru'.

<sup>454</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvaraṇāṭīkā*, p. 38, l. 10: *tata udakamaulivajrādhipatyābhīṣekānām grahaṇam tatpūrvakatvāt tayoḥ* 'From this [reference to the consecrations of the bell and the name] it follows that the text also refers [by implication] to the consecrations of water, crown, and the Vajra Lord, because these two have to be preceded by these [three]. The five consecrations covered here are as in *Samvaraḍaya* 18.27, where they are associated with the five Tathāgatas.

<sup>455</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvaraṇāṭīkā*, p. 38, ll. 13-14: *ghanṭānādam* 'śvaliṅga-vasthitapāṇavimśatikādhidhānam (em.: *śvaliṅga-vasthitah pañcaviṃśatikādhidhānam* Ed.) | *ghanṭā dvādaśādhikā* | *patahikā yodāśādhikā* | *ghanṭānādo vajrakulam* | *ghanṭā ratnakulam* | *patahikā padmakulam* | *hāhākāraḥ tathāgatakulam* | *cahārād anyac ca* | '*ghanṭānādam* anyatamām ācāryaḥ sevayet (em.: *ghanṭānādam anyatamānācāryaḥ sevayet* Ed.) | *ghanṭānādam aho sukleti mantram sādhaḥ śiṣyaḥ kārayet uccārayet ity arthah* | *kuto* 'nantaram ity aha | *anāmetyadi* | *anāmāṅguṣṭhavaktrābhīṣekam* | *lehayet yagavīt sadā* | *somapānāvad āśvādyā siddhim āpnōti sādātīm* (1.12c-13a) *iti gāthā yajitāryā* | *tato* 'yā idam arhantaram | *pūrvokta-prajñāśevaya yad bhūtam tad anāmāṅguṣṭhavaktrābhīṣekam ācāryaḥ śiṣyaḥ lehayet* | *sa ca śiṣyaḥ tataḥ somapānāvad āśvādyā siddhim āpnōti guhyābhīṣeko* 'yam 'The resonance of the bell denotes a girl of twenty-five mounted on one's penis; the bell is a girl of twelve; and the drum is a girl of sixteen. [In addition] the resonance of the

bell is [a woman of] the Vajra Family, the bell [one of] the Jewel Family, the drum [one of] the Lotus Family, and the wild laughter [one of] the Tathāgata Family. The word 'and' [in 'and he should laugh wildly'] indicates [one of] the other [Family, that of Action]. The officiant should have intercourse with one or other of these women of whom the first is 'the resonance of the bell'. The meaning is [also] that the Sādha, [that is to say,] the candidate, should make, that is to say, utter, 'the resonance of the bell', that is to say, the Mantra AHO SUKHA 'Oh, Bliss'. He [also] tells us that after which [he should utter this Mantra] in the passage [of this Tantra] that begins with *anāmā-*. At this point one must read in the following verse (1.12c-13a) 'The master of Yoga should always lick [it, taking it] with the tips of his ring finger and thumb. Having relished it as though it were a draught of Soma he attains eternal success'. So there is another sense of this [verse], namely that the officiant should make the candidate take into his mouth [lit. 'lick'] the product of his sexual union with the aforesaid consort with the tips of his ring finger and thumb; and that candidate, having relished it like a draught of Soma attains Siddhi. This, then, is the *guhābhīṣekah*'.

<sup>456</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvaraṇāṭīkā*, p. 38, ll. 23-24: *sa ca śiṣyaḥ tataḥ somapānāvad āśvādyā siddhim āpnōti guhyābhīṣeko* 'yam | *tata evācāryābhīṣekah siddhah tatpūrvakatvāt tasya* 'This is the *guhābhīṣekah*. This itself establishes the presence of the *ācāryābhīṣekah*, because the former is preceded by the latter'.

<sup>457</sup> Bhavabhāṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvaraṇāṭīkā*, p. 39, ll. 21-22: *tata ityādina prajñābhīṣekam darśayati* | *tato guhyābhīṣekānantaram* | *ācārya iti dhairyaḍigunayogāt* 'In the passage beginning *tataḥ* he reveals the Wisdom Consecration. The word *tataḥ* ('next') means directly after the *guhābhīṣekah*. He is termed the officiant [here] because he has such qualities as self-control'. Bhavabhāṭṭa is probably alluding to the qualities of the good Ācārya as stated in vv. 8-9 of the *Gurupañcāśikā*: *dhīro vinīto matimān kṣamārān ārjavo* 'tathāḥ' | ...



artificial and could be imposed on the text only because Bhavabhaṭṭa, like Jayabhadra, could not accept the possibility that there might be no reference to the consecrations in a Buddhist Tantra's treatment of initiation.

Further exemplification of the direction of redaction can be seen in the first of the new parallels listed above, that on the subject of the regular rite of worshipping the Kulikā (as the *Laghuśaṃvara* has it). For ease of comparison I give in bold characters those parts of each of the three related texts, the *Picumata*, the *Herukābhyaṅga*, and the *Laghuśaṃvara*, that partly or completely correspond to passages in one or both of the other two. The *Picumata* passage is as follows:

*mūlasūtrādīkānāṃ tu kramāṃ sādhanalakṣaṇam ||*  
**10 durlabhaṃ triṣu lokeṣu samayācūrapālanaṃ |**  
**yāgaṃ vidhis tathā jñānaṃ cakram yogaṃ ca śobhanam ||**  
**11 kathayāmi mahādevi yat tvayā coditaṃ \*balaṃ (?) |**  
**madhyamottamacchāgena gandhodakasahitena tu ||**  
**12 vaṭikāṃ prāṣayet prājñāḥ pūjākāle viśeṣataḥ |**  
*vidhānaṃ tu sadā yojyaṃ carvāhāreṇa suvrate ||*  
**13 samaye sādhanā caiva dravyābhanakarmaṇi |**  
**tasyaiva dūtayaḥ siddhāḥ sahaajā vīravandite ||**  
**14 gurunādivibhāgena sṛṣṭidravyādisaṃgrāhe |**  
*ṛṣṭiyogaviyogena anulomavilomajā ||*  
**15 yāgādādhordhvaṅgatā devī sarvakāṃvilakṣaṇā |**  
*kunḍāgolodbhavaṇaiva svayambhukusumaṇa ca ||*  
**16 japaḥomārcanaṃ snānaṃ bukapūrpasamanvītam |**  
*niyojyaṃ svena mārgaṇa svakāle yāgaṇūrvakam ||*

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11c *madhyamottamacchāgena cm. : adhamottamacchāgena Cod.*<sup>458</sup>

The related passage in the *Herukābhyaṅga* is accessible only in its Tibetan translation. I give that here with a reconstruction of the Sanskrit of the parts

<sup>458</sup> I propose this emendation for two reasons. The first is that the reading contradicts information given later in this chapter. According to that there are three grades of flesh for use in the preparation of the sacrament (*caruḥ*): goat, cow, and human. The first is said to be inferior (*adhama*-), the second intermediate (*madhyama*-), and the third superior (*uttama*-): *adhamaṃ cchāgam ity uktam madhyamaṃ gobhavaṃ bhavet | puruṣottamaṃ mahādevi tridhā tu caravaḥ smṛtāḥ* (f. 320r5-v1 [84.36c-37b]). Consequently without this emendation we have nonsense: 'with the inferior (i.e. goat), the superior (i.e. human), and goat'. With it we have a statement that is consistent with this classification: 'with the intermediate (i.e. cow), the superior (i.e. human) and [the inferior, i.e.] goat. The second reason is that the emendation has the support of the Buddhist parallels, which, as we shall see, read *madhyamot-tamaśvāsena* or *madhyamottamacchvāsena* here.

that match the passage in the *Picumata*:

(15.6) *sngags dang phyag rgya shyar bar bya |*  
*dam tshig thams cad bskyang bya ste |*  
*'jig rten gsum na rnyed dka' ba (durlabhaṃ triṣu lokeṣu) |*  
*gyon nas skyes pas byed pa yin |*  
 (7) *dam tshig spyod pa'i mshan nyid dang (samayācūralakṣaṇam) |*  
*shyor nyid cho ga'i yi ge shes ni (yoga eva vidhijñānam) |*  
*de ni nga yis bshad kyes nyon (tan me nigaditaṃ ṛṇṇu) |*  
*dbugs dbyung mchog gi bar dag ni (madhyamottamaśvāsena) |*  
 (8) *dri yi chu dang bcas pa dang (gandhodakasahitena (tu)) |*  
*rtag tu ril bu bza' par bya (vaṭikāṃ prāṣayen nityam) |*  
*mchod pa'i dus kyi bye brag la (pūjākālavīṣeṣataḥ) |*  
*pho nyas lhan cig skyes dngos grub pa (dūtayaḥ sahaajāḥ siddhā) |*  
 (9) *dman pa mchog dang 'bring mams kyi (adhamottamacchāgena) |*  
*de yis shyor bas dngos grub 'gyur (tābhir yogena siddhiḥ syāt) |*  
*'dod pa'i don kun sgrub pa'o (sarvakāmārthasādhakāḥ) |*  
*dpal ldan he ru ka las byung (śrīherukodbhavam) |*  
 (10) *rang byung me tog nyid dag gis (svayambhukusumair api) |*  
*cho ga shes pas kun tu spyod (vidhijñānasamācāra-) |*  
*bzlas dang bsam gtan mchod pa dang (jāpadyānapūjā) |*  
*me tog gcig dang yang dag ldan (ekapūrpasamanvītam) |*

*Khrag 'thung mngon par 'byung ba D f. 12r6-v2 (Herukābhyaṅga 15.6-10)*

TESTIMONIUM—Kumārācandra, *Katipayāḥkṣarā nāma Herukābhyaṅgapañjikā*, p. 156: *evaṃ mayā nigaditaṃ ṛṇṇu | madhyamottamaśvāsah pañca pradipāḥ | gandhodakam pañcāmṛtāni | vaṭikāṃ prāṣya* (Cod. [f. 3v6] : *prāpya* Ed.) \**bhāvanāgāṇamaṇḍalādau (bhāvanāgāṇa corr. : bhāvanā gāṇa Ed.) aūtīṃ pñjayet | adhamāḥ mantrajāḥ | uttamāḥ sahaajāḥ | madhyamāḥ kṣetrajāḥ | tābhiḥ, siddhiḥ syāt tasya yoginah.*

The version of the *Laghuśaṃvara* reads:

1.4 *sambhavan nādirūpād viniṣkrāntāḥ samayācūragocarāḥ |*  
*durlabhaṃ triṣu lokeṣu ādimadhyāntasamsthitam ||*  
 5 *manthyananthānasamnyogaṃ yathā tathā mantrajāpadyānādiyuktam |*  
*yogā caiva vidhijñānaṃ tantrā nigaditaṃ ṛṇṇu ||*  
 6 *madhyamottamacchvāsena gandhodakasahitena tu |*  
*kulikāṃ pūjāyān nityaṃ kālavīṣeṇa tu ||*  
 7 *dūtayaḥ sahaajāḥ siddhā adhamottamacchvāsena madhyamāḥ |*

f. 1v2-5

6a *madhyamottamacchvāsena* JAYABHADRA : *madhyamottamaśvāsena* Cod. BHAVABHAṬṬA

The *Herukābhyaṅga*, then, shows a version that is closer than the



*Laghusaṃvara* to the text of the *Picumata* in some details and covers more of it. It is particularly striking that it preserves the *Picumata*'s *vaṭikāṃ prāśayet prājñāḥ pūjākale viśeṣataḥ* (84.12ab), reading *rtag tu ril bu bza' par bya | mehod pa'i dus kyi bye brag la* 'Let him always swallow the sacramental pellet, especially at the time of worship', diverging from the *Picumata* only in having *nityam* (*rtag tu*) and *pūjākalaviśeṣataḥ* where that has *prājñāḥ* and *pūjākale viśeṣataḥ*. That the Sanskrit read *vaṭikāṃ* is shown by the gloss *vaṭikāṃ prāśya* in the *Herukābhyyudayaapañjikā* (f. 3v6).

Even so it shows signs of having had difficulty in understanding some of the Śaiva proto-text's technical terms and of having dealt with this difficulty by resorting to rewriting. Thus in 15.10 *me tog geig dang yang dag ldan* 'together with a single flower' corresponds to *bukapuspasamanvitam* 'together with the Buka flower' in *Picumata* 84.16, so that the Sanskrit may be restored from the Tibetan with some confidence as *ekapuspasamanvitam*. The context is a listing of impure ingredients to be consumed at the time of practice. Now, 'a single flower' yields no appropriate sense in this context, whereas 'Buka flower' (*bukapuspam*) does. For the *Picumata* tells us that in its secret vocabulary *bukam* means 'the impurity of the male organ' (84.38a: *buko lingamalo jñeyas*; 87.196d: *bukam lingamalam smrtam*), and the *Kubjikāmata* tells us that *bukapuspam* has the same meaning (25.226ab: *bukapūsṣa kaṇāḥkhyam ca lingapaṅkamalaṃ tathā*). It is probable that the Buddhist redactor, failing to understand this obscure term, modified the text to produce something that had at least the appearance of sense. Kumāracandra confirms the reading *ekapūsṣa* in his *Herukābhyyudayaapañjikā* and ventures to explain it as 'the blood of a [woman's] first menstruation': *ekapūsṣaṃ prathamam rajas vajrapadmābhīyam sādhyamānam kapālastham* (p. 156) '[After putting it] in a skull-bowl [he should swallow] the 'one flower', i.e. the first menses, produced by the penis and vagina'. But this gloss is not only strained: it also leads the text into an implausible repetition, since the blood of first menstruation has just been mentioned in 15.10a, in the term *rang byung me tog* (= *svayambhukusumanam*). He also seems not to have understood the expression *kuṇḍagolodbhava*—seen in *Picumata* 84.15c (*kuṇḍagolodbhavaiva*), another 'secret' Vidyāpīṭha term, referring to the mingled ejaculates. He resolves his quandary by substituting the name of his deity, the Tibetan *dpal ldan he ru ka las byung* (15.9d) evidently rendering *śriherukodbhavam*.

In the abbreviated version seen in the *Laghusaṃvara* we have *kulikāṃ pūjāyem nityam* 'let him constantly worship the Kulikā' in place of the reading *vaṭikāṃ prāśāyem nityam* seen in the *Herukābhyyudaya* and in the Śaiva proto-text. This is evidently the result of a corruption of a redaction which read not

*vaṭikāṃ* but the exact synonym *gulikāṃ*,<sup>499</sup> and this hypothesis is confirmed by the *Abhidhānotara*, which in its own first chapter preserves *gulikāṃ* in a passage modelled on these verses of the *Laghusaṃvara*, thus bearing witness to a stage of the redaction of this text that is earlier even than that known to our earliest commentator, since Jayabhadra accords with all later witnesses in reading *kulikāṃ* here:

- 1.7 *nādarūpād vinīṣkrāntā samayācāragocaram |*  
*durlabham triṣu lokeṣu ādimadhyāntanirmalam ||*
- 8 *manthamanthānayaḥena saṃyogād yatra yat tathā |*  
*prakṛtiprabhāsvaram sūddham guhyapiṭhodbhavodbhavam ||*
- 9 *nirḍoṣam śāśvatam śāntam kṣasamam sṛṣṭikāram |*  
*svabhāvasūddham svayambhūtam yoginīnām sukhapradam ||*
- 10 *jāpadhyānādibhir yuktam yogasyaiva vidhijñāt |*  
*tantra nigoditam tattvam guhyakādhipate śṛṇu ||*
- 11 *madhyamottamaśāśena gandhodakasahitena tu |*  
*gulikāṃ kārayed dhīmān pūjāyem parṣamanḍalam*<sup>499</sup> ||
- 12 *kālacālavīṣeṣeṇa pūjāyem tatra dūṭayāḥ |*  
*sahajāḥ siddhidhāḥ sarvā adhamottamamadhyamāḥ ||*
- 13 *antargatena manasā kāmasiddhiṃ tu sādhayet |*

*Abhidhānotara* A f. 2r2–6; B f. 2r4–v3

Tab *nādarūpād* em. : *nādarūpo* B : *nādarū* + A • *vinīṣkrāntā samayācāragocaram* B : + + + + + *cāragocaram* A 7d *nirmalam* A : *nirmalam* B 8b *saṃyogād yatra tatra yathā* B : *sayogād yatra yat tathā* A : 'yatra tatra yathā tathā' (Tib. *srub dang bsrub par yang dag shyor | gang la de la ji ltaṅ bzhin*) 8cd *prakṛtiprabhāsvaram sūddham guhyapiṭhodbhavodbhavam* B : *prakṛtiprabhāsva* + + + + + *ṭhodbhavodbhavam* A 9a *śāśvatam* A : *śāśvata* B 9c *sūddham svayambhūtam* conj. [= Tib. *dag pa rang byung ste*] : *sūddhasambhūtam* B : *sūddham adbhūtam* A 10ab *dhyanādibhir yuktam yogasyaiva* B : *dhyanādibhir yu* + + + + + *va* A • *jñātā* A : *jñeyā* B

The otherwise unattested *kulikāṃ* was then construed by force to mean *yoginīṃ* 'a/the Yogini', and the verb *prāśayet* 'let him swallow', since it now made no sense, altered to *pūjāyem* 'let him worship'.<sup>499</sup>

<sup>499</sup> For *gulikā* (variant forms: *guṭikā* and *gudikā*) see here p. 217.

<sup>499</sup> The reading of 11c is further supported by the Tibetan translation: *mhas pas dril bur byas nas ni*. Note that *dhīmān* (*mhas pas*) here is synonymous with *prājñāḥ* found at the corresponding point in the version seen in the *Picumata* (*vaṭikāṃ prāśāyem prājñāḥ*). This, then, has probably survived from the Śaiva source on which the first Buddhist version drew.

<sup>499</sup> Bhavabhūta, *Cakrasaṃvaraapañjikā*, p. 20: *kulikā yoginī | tām pūjāyem arādhayet | nityam sarvakālam pratidīnam ity arthaḥ* [The word] *kulikā* [means] *yoginī*. It is she that he should propitiate [in this way]; and he should do so constantly, at all times, that is to say, every day'. Cf. Jayabhadra, *Cakrasaṃvaraapañjikā*, p. 110: *kulikāṃ iti tantra samayabhāṣā | vajracārāhīvarūpam bāhyāṅganām pūjāyem*



That the Buddhist versions arose from Śaiva prototypes is clear from the detailed analysis of these and many other parallels. Other features reinforce this conclusion. In all cases the Śaiva passages fit neatly into the contexts in which they occur, without ragged edges, as it were, at their beginning and end, whereas this is often not so with the parallels in the Buddhist texts, a circumstance that fits well with a scenario in which the latter were constructed by a rather careless process of extraction, insertion, and superficial editing.

The same is suggested by the high degree of divergence between the various Buddhist commentators in their attempts to tell us what these new texts mean. They were caught out, as it were, by new materials that lacked roots in the Buddhist textual corpus in which they were trained. They did their best to make sense of what were in many cases barely intelligible passages; but without much guidance from existing Buddhist sources and with no central authority to impose consistency on their efforts they were bound to diverge.

We have a good example of this in the passage just discussed, in the words *madhyamottamaśvāsena gandhodakasahitena tu* .... The meaning of the Śaiva prototype as seen in the version of the *Picumata*, namely *madhyamottamacchāgena gandhodasahitena tu* | *vaṭikāṃ prāśayet prājñāḥ*, is perfectly clear to anyone who has read the whole chapter of which it is part. It means 'The wise [initiate] should swallow a pellet made from beef, human flesh, or goat mixed with scented water'.<sup>492</sup> The case is very different with the Buddhist versions. Their *madhyamottamaśvāsena* surely began life as a copyist's corruption; for it yields no sense in either Śaiva or Buddhist terms in the context of this rite of the pellet or, indeed, in any other. Kumāracandra, therefore, in his commentary on the passage as it appears in the *Herukābhhyudaya*, could only guess at the meaning on the basis of the one part of the sentence that made undoubted sense, namely the injunction to swallow a pellet. Knowing that such pellets were made in practice from the five meats and the five body nectars he tells us that *madhyamottamaśvāsaḥ* 'the intermediate and upper breath' means those meats and that the *gandhodakam* 'scented water' with which this 'breath' is to be mixed

iti | yathā saṃtoṣo jāyate tathā karaṇīyam ity arthaḥ 'The word *kulikāṃ* is used in [this] Tantra following [its own special] convention. It refers to the physical woman [who is the practitioner's consort, when she is perceived as] identical with Vajravārāhi. He should worship her, which means that he should do whatever is necessary to satisfy her'. In his *Kālacakra*-influenced commentary on the *Laghusaṃvara* (*Laghutantraśīkā*) Vajrapāṇi interprets *kulikā* more esoterically as referring to Vajravārāhi as the non-conceptual central energy-channel: *kulikāṃ pūjāyem nityam iti* | *iha kulikā madhyamāvadhūti vajravārāhi nīrāvāraṇā grāhyagrāhakaavarjitā* (p. 59).

<sup>492</sup> See the footnote on my emendation *madhyamottamacchāgena* on p. 212.

means those nectars.<sup>493</sup>

Jayabhadra and Bhavabhāṭa commenting on the same expression when it occurs in the *Laghusaṃvara*, where the second part of the sentence has emerged through further confusion as *kulikāṃ pūjāyeta*, impose quite different but equally arbitrary interpretations, which are based not on the text itself but, in the absence of evident meaning, on their own notions of what the text ought to be saying here. Thus Jayabhadra, who has the variant *madhyamottamacchāśena*, makes *madhyama-* mean 'vagina', *uttamacchvāsaḥ* 'the placing of the tongue', and *gandhodakam* 'semen', interpreting the sentence to mean that the adept should worship the Kulikā, that is to say, his female consort identified with Vajravārāhi, by placing his tongue (*uttamacchvāśena*) together with his semen (*gandhodakasahitena*) in her vagina (*madhyama-*).<sup>494</sup>

<sup>493</sup> Kumāracandra, *Herukābhhyudaya* pārijñikā, p. 156: *madhyamottamaśvāsaḥ pañca pradīpāḥ* | *gandhodakam pañcamṛtāni* 'The word *madhyamottamaśvāsaḥ* means the five 'lights'; and *gandhodakam* means the five nectars'. On the five lights and five nectars see, e.g., Vāgīśvarakīrti, *Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa* 18: *pañca-pradīpāśvedena gokudahanalakṣaṇasya amṛtāśvedena vimānāśvalakṣaṇasya satatānuśīhanam eva sādhyam* manyante [The learned] hold that the expression *pañcapradīpa-* refers to the accomplished regular practice of the [five meats] of the cow (*go-*), dog (*kulikkura-*), horse (*daṁmya-*), elephant (*vaṣṭi-*), and man (*naṣṭra-*), and the expression *amṛta-* to that of excrement (*viṣṭi-*), urine (*māṣṭra-*), flesh (*māṣṣa-*), blood (*raṣṭra-*), and semen (*suṣṭra-*). Cf. Jayabhadra, *Cakraṣaṃvara* pārijñikā, p. 108: *ādau tāvan manonukūle sthāne nīpadya pañcamṛtāktatagulikāṃ mukhe kṛtvā* ... 'At the beginning [before he begins the Sādhana] he should sit in a place conducive to meditation, place a pellet of the five nectars in his mouth, ...'; Bhavabhāṭa, *Cakraṣaṃvara* pārijñikā, p. 24: *gokudahanānām pañcamṛtasya ca vaṭikāṃ bhāvanārambhe bhakṣayet* 'At the beginning of his meditation he should swallow a pellet consisting of [the flesh of] cow, dog, horse, elephant, and man, and the five nectars'; *Sādhana* mālā 261 (Advaya-vajra, *Saptākṣarasādhana*), p. 490: *yogī prītar uthāya samayagulikāṃ mukhe prakṣipyā* ... 'The meditator, having risen before sunrise and placed a Samaya pellet in his mouth ...'. The term *samaya-* in *samayagulikā* means the five nectars; see Bhavabhāṭa, *Cakraṣaṃvara* pārijñikā p. 18: *amayapālanaṃ samayarakṣaṇam pañcamṛtabhākṣaṇam* 'maintaining the samaya- means keeping the pledges [and] swallowing the five nectars'; Jayabhadra, *Cakraṣaṃvara* pārijñikā, p. 109: *mayo dvidhāḥ rakṣaṇīyo bhakṣaṇīyaḥ ca* 'The samayaḥ is of two kinds: that which is to be maintained [i.e. the post-initiatory pledges] and that which is to be swallowed [i.e. the five nectars]'.  
<sup>494</sup> Jayabhadra, *Cakraṣaṃvara* pārijñikā, p. 110 : *madhye bhavattī madhyamaḥ* | *padma ucaye* | *tasmīn uttamocchvāso jīhvāvināśaḥ* | *tena himbhūtena* | *gandhodakasahitena tu bodhicittasahitenāivety arthaḥ* | *kulikāṃ iti tantra samayabhāṣā* | *vajravārāhiśvarāpām bhāyāṅganām pūjāyeta iti* | *yathā saṃtoṣo jāyate tathā karaṇīyam ity arthaḥ* 'The word *madhyama-*, meaning 'that which is in the centre', refers to the Lotus [i.e. the vagina]. The word *uttamocchvāśaḥ* means 'the placing of the tongue' [and *madhyamottamacchvāśena* is a locative Tatpuruṣa compound meaning 'by the placing of (his) tongue'] in that. The words *gandhodakasahitena tu* 'together with the scented water' describe that [placing of his tongue in her vagina] and mean that it should be together with [his] Intention to Attain Enlightenment



In Bhavabhaṭṭa's commentary we find an entirely different understanding. According to him *madhyamottamaśvāsena gandhōdakaśaṭena tu* | *kuḷikāṃ pūjayed* means 'he should worship the Yoginī with the place or time (śvāsena) of fire (madhyama-) and earth (uttama-) together with wind (gandha-) and water (udaka-)'. The purpose of this invention, which the Sanskrit entirely fails to support, is to find a reference (1) to the symbols of the four elements as constituting the thrones of the various groups of Yoginis in the Maṇḍala and (2) to various time periods considered to be governed by these elements as the occasions for the successful performance of rituals for hostile purposes (*abhicāraḥ*), re-invigoration (*pausṭikam*), expulsion (*uccātanam*), and the averting of danger (*śāntikam*) respectively. That Bhavabhaṭṭa has decided what he would like to find here and then imposed it is clear from the extreme artificiality of the glosses that bend the text to his will: 'the intermediate' (*madhyama-*) is fire (*vahnīḥ*) because it is falls in the middle of the list of the four elements (actually in the penultimate position); the 'highest' (*-uttama-*) is that of Mahendra, the presiding deity of the symbol of earth (*prthivī*), because he is the king of the gods; *gandhaḥ* means not 'fragrance', its lexical meaning, but 'that which possesses fragrance', namely the wind (*vāyuḥ*), since that is the bearer of fragrance; *udaka-* is not *udakam* 'water' but an unattested *udakaḥ* meaning Varuṇa, literally 'he who possesses the waters', since Varuṇa is the presiding deity of the symbol of water (*udakam*); and *śvāsaḥ* means not 'breath' but 'that in which X breathes', that is to say, by an entirely unwarranted leap, the locus or time of X's operation.<sup>495</sup>

[i.e. his semen]. The word *kuḷikā* is a term specific to the esoteric jargon of this Tantra. It denotes the physical woman [as] identical with Vajravārāhī. By saying that one should 'worship' her the text means that one must do what is necessary to satisfy her.

<sup>495</sup> Bhavabhaṭṭa, *Cakrasaṃvaraṇapāñjikā*, p. 20: *madhyama uttamah śvāsity asmin aneneti vā* | *śvāsaḥ sthānam kālō vā* | *madhyama vahnīḥ prthivyapūjāyā itī vacanena madhyodbhavāt* | *madhyodbhūtatve 'py upāyagrahaṇam yataḥ tām vakyati* | *uttamo mahendro devarājatēti* | *madhyamottamasyoh śvāsaḥ sthānam kālō vety arthaḥ* | *tēna kuḷikāṃ pūjayed iti sambandhaḥ* | *kuḷikāteneti eha gandhāyādi* | *gandho 'tyāstīti gandho gandhavadhātved vāyuh* | *udakam asyāstīti udako varuṇah* | *tayoh sthānena sahito gandhōdakaśaṭo itī madhyapadalopi samāsaḥ ghrtaghṛto ghaṭo ghrtaghṛto yathā* The term *śvāsaḥ* is to be understood here to be derived from the root *śvas* 'to breathe' in the meaning 'that in which X breathes', X in this case being *madhyamaḥ* and *uttamaḥ*. The *śvāsaḥ*, then, is the locus of these or their time-period. The *madhyamaḥ* 'intermediate' is 'fire', because it arises in the middle, in accordance with the text 'earth, water, fire, and wind'; and the *uttamaḥ* 'highest' is [the symbol] of Mahendra, the presiding deity of the earth symbol, because he is the king of the gods. So the meaning of *madhyamottamaśvāsaḥ* is 'the locus or time of the *madhyamaḥ* and the *uttamaḥ*'. With this he should worship the Kuḷikā. Such is the core syntax. The compound beginning *gandha-* describes this *śvāsaḥ* further as 'accompanied by *gandha-* and *udaka-*', meaning 'together with the locus of these [other] two [*gandhōdakaśaṭhānaśaṭhā*]'. This is a com-

Since these confused and barely comprehensible verses are found in the opening chapter of the *Laghusaṃvara* the redactor has made a greater effort than usual to assimilate them to their new Buddhist milieu. But he has not done this by rewriting them in such a way that Buddhists would recognize and understand them as formulated within their own established discourse. His approach is rather that of montage or bricolage, in which bits and pieces of various texts have been clumsily combined. Instead of rewriting the verses he has sandwiched them between others derived from well-known Buddhist sources. Thus the opening verses of the work (1.1-3), which immediately precede this passage, are a version of the opening of the Buddhist *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*;<sup>496</sup> and the verses (1.7c-13b) that follow it contain awkwardly collocated variants of verses found in that text and the Buddhist *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* and *Guhyasamāja*.<sup>497</sup>

But this attempt to lend the compilation a Buddhist character by embedding the passage from the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha between verses that Buddhist Tantrics would immediately recognize as Buddhist is mostly restricted to this first section. The rest of the work up to the point at which the redaction known to Jaya-

pound of the type in which an intermediate word is dropped, as when one says 'a pot of ghee' (*ghṛtaghṛtaḥ*) when what one means is 'a pot full of ghee'. The other two are *gandhaḥ* and *udakaḥ*. The first is a primary derivative of *gandhaḥ* 'fragrance' in the meaning 'that which has fragrance' and refers to the wind, because that is the bearer of fragrance. The second is [likewise] a primary derivative of *udakam* 'water' in the meaning 'that which has water', i.e. Varuṇa, the God of Water'. The application of this explanation then follows. One is instructed to meditate on the Yoginis one by one in a fixed order of rotation tied to the passage of time. Thus on the first Tithi of the lunar fortnight one meditates on the first eight Yoginis during the day-time, each for one eighth of the day, the second eight during the eight half Prahara of the night, the third eight during the day of the second Tithi, the fourth eight during the night, and so on. Bhavabhaṭṭa explains there that the three eights that make up the 24 Yoginis associated with the sacred sites must have the symbols of fire, water, and earth as their thrones (pp. 21-22: *devīnām āsanam vahnimāṇḍalam itī dinabhāgaḥ*; *devīnām āsanam vāruṇamāṇḍalam itī rātrībhāgaḥ*; *devīnām mahendramāṇḍalam āsanam itī dinabhāgaḥ*). This, evidently, is what he means by *śvāsaḥ* in the sense of 'place'. He explains its second meaning as 'time' in the following: *agnyādiyo 'py abhicāradau tathāiva jñeyah* | *yathābhicāre cittaśakrasya vahnikaḥ śāntike vācakaśya varuṇakaḥ pausṭike kāyacaśrasya mahendraśakṣaṇa uccātanē śmaśānacaśrasya vāyukaḥ yoginīnām anyatamā bhāryā* This application of fire and the others should also be understood in the case of hostile rites and the like. Thus in a hostile rite one should meditate on one of the Yoginis of the Circuit of Mind (the first eight) at a fire moment, on one of those of the Circuit of Speech (the second eight) at a Varuṇa moment in a rite to avert danger, on one of those of the Circuit of the Body (the third eight) at a Mahendra moment in a rite of re-invigoration, and on one of those of the Circuit of the Cremation Grounds (the fourth eight) at a wind moment in a rite of expulsion'.

<sup>496</sup> See here p. 154.

<sup>497</sup> See here p. 163, parallels 1, 5, and 6.



bhadra and Bhavayakīrti ends consists almost entirely of (1) sections for which I have found close Śaiva parallels, (2) sections for which I have not found such parallels but which are of the same type, and (3) sections devoted to giving the Mantras. These, of course, have not been lifted directly from Śaiva sources, because the Mantras so taught are peculiar to this and related Tantras. However, the Mantras themselves are Śaiva in style; and the method of teaching them by giving them letter by letter in encoded form (*mantroddhāraḥ*) has been adopted in imitation of Śaiva scriptural practice, appearing first, as we have seen, in the *Sarvakalpasaṃuccaya* that supplements the proto-Yoginītantra *Sarvabuddha-samāyoga*.<sup>498</sup> In the light of this one readily understands why the redactor of the version known to Bhavabhaṭṭa and the other later commentators and seen in the one accessible manuscript and the Tibetan translation felt the need to add explicitly Buddhist material at the end of the work, thus accomplishing for the whole an unambiguously Buddhist frame, which in the earlier redaction had been present only in the first chapter.<sup>499</sup>

**CONVERTING THE OUTSIDERS.** The textual dependence of these Buddhist Yoginītantras on the scriptural corpus of the Vidyāpīṭha would surely have been obvious to any learned Śākta Śaiva who examined them; and there is evidence that it was indeed noticed. We do not find this evidence in the Tantric Śaiva literature, since the only historical data that intrude there are the spiritual genealogies of its teachers. For the rest it is concerned purely with what it sees as the timeless realities of fact and injunction, and it is interested in relations between its own and other traditions only to the extent that it establishes a hierarchy among these traditions by ranking their various goals along an ascent that culminates in its own. If awareness of this textual dependence was to find expression in Śaiva literature then it could only be in the distorting mirror of mythology, where the specifics of the tensions between sects could be translated

into accounts of the interaction of the gods with demons and men. Thus we find our evidence in a variant of the famous narrative of Śiva's burning of the celestial cities of the three demons (*tripuradahanam*) given in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, a collection of Śaiva myths for the instruction of the laity compiled in the thirteenth century by the Kashmirian Śākta Śaiva Jayadratha.<sup>500</sup>

According to that account Brhaspati, the ingenious Guru of the gods, puts an end to the invincibility of these demons, the reward of their devotion to Śiva, by fooling them into abandoning the worship of that deity. He composes and introduces to them various texts for the visualization of Buddhist deities in which Śiva and other Śaiva deities are portrayed as their inferiors. Then, once they have become used to these, he adds Mantras by adapting those of the Śaiva Tantras and composes passages giving instruction in Tantric ritual procedures by cobbling together various excerpts from the same sources. Finally, he composes Buddhist treatises which supplement this Tantric corpus with reasoned arguments designed to undermine the demons' commitment to their rites and belief in God.<sup>501</sup>

<sup>500</sup> Jayadratha was the brother of Jayaratha, author of the *Tantrāloka* *viṣeka*, on whose date see SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 418–419. That Jayadratha shared his brother's Śākta Śaiva adherence, in keeping with the family's long-established tradition, is evident throughout his work, but particularly in the opening verses of each chapter, in which he gives a metaphysical reading of the myth that follows. Thus in 13.1, introducing this narrative of the destruction of the three cities, whose point is to glorify the Kashmirian sacred site of the volcanic fire-Liṅga (*jvalāliṅgam*) at Suyam (Svayambhū) (on which see STEIN 1900, vol. 2, pp. 484–485), he equates the three cities with the cognizer, cognition, and the cognized differentiated in contracted consciousness, and the fire that destroys them with the all-inclusive nonduality whose emergence bestows liberation: *etad vedakavedyavedanamāyaṃ dagdhvā purāṇaṃ trayaṃ pūrṇādvairahutāśanena śamāyana māyāmayopadavam jvalāliṅgataṃ \*sphuraṇā (A: sphuraj) Ed.) jagadanugrahiḥ svayambhūḥ nnu devaḥ sampṛāpti bhāsātām mama parām ullāsayan nirṛtiṃ* 'May that god Svayambhū blaze forth for me now, revealing the highest bliss, he who has favoured the world by manifesting himself as the fire-Liṅga after burning these three cities that are the cognizer, the cognized, and cognition, putting an end to the torment of bound existence with the fire of all-inclusive nonduality'. This is exactly in the conceptual mode of the Śākta Śaiva nondualism of Kashmir.

<sup>501</sup> *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 13.61–83: *ripūṇāṃ bhagavadohaktir vijaye mūlakāraṇam | sā śūhilyam avāpnōti kena yatnena cintayām || 62 tatrabhyupāyaḥ prāyeṇa kascit saṃcintito mayā | śukrasya saṃnidhāne tu kathāmkāraṇaṃ pragalbhatē || 63 teṣāṃ hitaṃ \*prāpayitum (conj.: prārthayitum Codd. Ed.) śukra eva dine dine | bhagavadbhaktidārḍhyāya prayatnam adhiṣṭhātī || 64 svayaṃ yady api \*te (Codd.: ye Ed.) bhaktās tathāpy aīśvaryaḥ paritūḥ | mitaprajñāś ca yojante helayaiva viparyaye || 65 ity uktaṃ mahendrena \*prechate (A<sup>2</sup>: prechate Ed. A<sup>1</sup>BC) sma sa kautukāt | bhagavan brūhi tām yuktīm teṣāṃ liṅgārcanapāham || 66 śrūtveti so 'bravit paśya prāyaḥ sarve 'pi sarvadā | uttarottaram utkarṣaṃ jñātvā rajanti jantavaḥ || 67 tad īśvarād ṛte ko 'ra sarveṣāṃ mūrdhani śhītaḥ | suvākalpena tasyāpi kascid ūrdhvasṥa ucyate || 68 evaṃ māyāmayā teṣāṃ varṇate svopakalpitaḥ | śāstram ca darśate kiṃcīd likhitaḥ nijayā dhīyā ||*

<sup>498</sup> See here p. 154.

<sup>499</sup> The special character of the added, 51st chapter is indicated in the spiritual biography (*nam thar*) of Tilopā ascribed to Marpa (Mar pa chos kyi blo gros). For there the Jñānāḍākinī and her retinue are said to have taught it to Tilopā together with the oral transmission (TORRICELLI and NAGA 1995, p. 12): *gsungs nas rtsa rgyud le'u nga geig pa bshad rgyud dang bcas pa dang snyan rgyud gnam ngo*. The extended Tantra was already current when at least some of the Vyākhyāntantras were redacted. The *Adhidhānottara* contains 50.20c–51.12b. It is possible that the text was extended first only to this point. Parts of the 50th chapter after this point are seen in the *Samputodbhava*: 50.21–23b and 24ab > *Samputodbhava* 5.1.16–19b; and 50.25 > *Samputodbhava* 5.1.19cd. Verses from the remainder of the longer text, from 51.12c to the end, are found in the *Yoginisaṃcāra* and the *Samvarodaya*: 51.7ab > *Yoginisaṃcāra* 17.10ab; 51.13c–16b > *Yoginisaṃcāra* 17.21c–24b; 51.18–19 > *Samvarodaya* 32.29c–30b; and 51.21d > *Samvarodaya* 32.31d.



[Bṛhaspati:] "The root cause of the victory of our enemies is their devotion to Śiva. We must think carefully what will cause that to fade. I have already thought in general terms of a means of accomplishing that. But how, I wonder, will it succeed while [their Guru] Śukra is with them? For he exerts himself day after day to strengthen their devotion to the Lord in order to "secure (conj.) their welfare. [But] although they are genuinely devoted [to Śiva] they are proud of their power and of low intelligence. It should therefore be easy to lead them astray". When he had said this Indra eagerly asked him to explain the stratagem that would put an end to their worship of the Liṅga. Having heard this he replied and said: "Behold. All persons usually assign their devotion on the basis of their understanding of an ascending hierarchy. Who but Śiva is at the summit [of this hierarchy], surpassing all [others]? Nonetheless I shall use my imagination and tell [them] that there is a being above even him. In this way I shall give them false instruction of my own invention. I shall also use my wits to compose and show them some learned writing [in support of my teaching]. I shall deceitfully write visualization-texts of deities in relation to whom this Śiva will be placed in a position of inferiority, and I shall tell them that these show that there is another being who is greater even than him, so that they may give up their worship of the Liṅga and so be destroyed. However, these false teachings will have no effect while Śukra is present.

69 *dhyānāni devatānām ca likhyante tāni kaitāvat | yūṣm mahēśvaro py eṣa nyagbhāvena* \*nivēṣyate (Codd.: *nyavēṣyate* Ed.) || 70 *evam mahēśvarād anyā ntkṛtā itī kathyate | tēṣāṃ yato bhavet liṅgapājāsāthilyataḥ* \*kṛtāḥ (Ed.: *kṛtāḥ* A: *matīḥ* BC) || 71 *śukrasya saṃnidhāne tu prathante na kaduktayāḥ* | \**sa* prathitopapattāy (A: *sapratipopapattāy* Ed. BC) *ca paramārthavivāradāḥ* || 72 *ity uktvān āṅgirasō abhāṣena saṅgauravaṃ | vīṣyarthiyate sma sū yukt akhaṇḍā kathyatām itī* || 73 *utōca sa tataḥ* \*śūkrām (A: *śūkrām* Ed. BC) *akalayaḥ bṛhaspatiḥ | bhavate bhagavallṅgavimukhye naucitī kvacit* || 74 *epām upalāpāyitum* \*matīḥ (BC: *bhaktīm* A: *satyam* Ed.) *epa mama kramah | buddher āgatam ity etad dāraṇaṃ buddhiṃ ucyate* || 75 *buddhaḥ prasiddhaḥ tatraikah* \*saṃkalpyeta (Codd.: *saṃkalpeta* Ed.) \**sureśvaraḥ* (Ed. AC: *sureśvara* B) | *dhyāne yacchātradhartṛite likhyante kīraṇāny api* || 76 *gaṇapāṭyādayo ye ca śaiva atyantamāḥ sthītāḥ | tēṣāṃ mūrdhani likhyante devā buddhā* \**ami* itī (Codd.: *amitī* ca Ed.) || 77 *mithyopapalpitāny evam dhyānāny ālekyā dānārāḥ | ātmād utkarṣavanto 'mi itī* \**mukhyanty asaṃśayaṃ* (AB Ed.: *mukhyanti saṃśayaṃ* C) || 78 *evam dhyāneṣu siddheṣu prasiddhiḥ* \**lambhiteṣu* (A Ed.: *lambhiteṣu* BC) *ca* | *śaivatantrānuvādena mantrān api niyōjaye* || 79 *uddhṛtya śivaśāstreḥbhyāḥ khaṇḍān khaṇḍān niyōjaye* | *mantratantrādīkaṃ kṛtyaṃ yat kīṃcī copapalpitam* || 80 *bandhamakṣayavasthāyām āstram yac ca vīṛyate* | *tatra* \**tīrtvarāḥ* *prajñāprakarāḥ* (tīrtvarāḥ Codd.: *tīrtvarā* Ed.) \**pariposakaḥ* (Codd.: *pariposakaḥ* Ed.) || 81 *liṅgārcanādīkaḥ tatra bandhāḥ tūvaṇaḥ nigadyate* | *mukṛti tu śūnyatāiva eṣād itikartavyākhariṇī* || 82 *yajñādīkaḥ kriyā* \**yogayā* (A: *soṃyā* Ed. BC) *sā tatra pratilīkṣyate* | *ātmā nāstīti saṃcintya dṛṣṭvate paramēśvaraḥ* || 83 *evamvidhāni mayā āstram vīraṇānyā purāṇāni | hrīḥ* \**praveṣya* (conj.: *praviṣya* Codd. Ed.) *bhagavadbhaktiḥ tēṣāṃ vīṇayate* || 84 \**śukrasaṃnidhānam* (Codd.: *śukrasya saṃnidhānam* Ed.) *tu tatra siddhīḥ* \**pratikṣyate* (Codd.: *pratikṣate* Ed.).

[For] he, through intuition and reason, is fully conversant with ultimate reality". Thus said the Atharvavedic priest [of the gods]. Then Indra respectfully asked him to explain the stratagem more fully. After some reflection Bṛhaspati said to Indra: "It is entirely inappropriate that it should be you that has to divert [these demons] from the worship of Śiva's Liṅga. [So I shall take on this task myself.] My way of destroying their understanding will be this. I shall call this teaching Buddhist, [appropriately enough] since it will be born of [nothing more than] my intellect (*buddhiḥ*). The well-known Buddha will be conceived therein as the sole lord of the gods. Even the greatest deities will be portrayed as his chowry-bearers. Gods that I shall call Buddhist will be depicted positioned on top of Gaṇapati and others of the highest Śaiva deities. When the demons see these falsely conceived visualization-texts they will certainly make the mistake of thinking that these gods are greater than Śiva. Once these texts have been established and I have accustomed the demons to them I shall introduce Mantras modelled on [those of] the Śaiva Tantras (*śaivatantrānuvādena*) and by redacting various passages from these same scriptures (*uddhṛtya śivaśāstreḥbhyāḥ khaṇḍān khaṇḍān*) I shall add a worthless, concocted system of [Tantric] observances involving Mantras, ritual, and the rest. The learned [Buddhist] literature that I shall compose to define bondage and liberation will be nourished by higher reasoning of an exceptional degree of rigour. It will explain, of course, that of these two bondage includes such activities as worshipping the Liṅga; and liberation will be [defined as] a voidness [of self] that [once accepted] will subvert [their commitment to their] religious duties. Their sacrifices and other rituals will be opposed there; and coming to believe [though this teaching] that there is no soul they will denigrate Śiva himself [for teaching otherwise]. Indra, when I have composed learned teachings of this kind I shall insinuate them into their hearts and so put an end to their devotion to Śiva. For the plan to succeed we have only to wait until Śukra is absent".

Bṛhaspati's plan works. The demons' Śaiva Guru leaves for a year to attend a sacrifice. Bṛhaspati takes on his appearance and thus disguised sets about converting them to Tantric Buddhism. They become so anti-Śaiva that they can no longer bear even to mention the Śivaliṅga, let alone worship it,<sup>502</sup> thus making it possible for Śiva to destroy them.

Evidently the Buddhist Tantric scriptures that Bṛhaspati is represented here as having concocted are the Yoginītantras as typified by the *Laghusaṃvara* and its satellites,<sup>503</sup> and the fact that this understanding of the nature of the

<sup>502</sup> *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 13.127c-128b: \**tadāprabhṛtī* (A: *tadāprabhṛtī* Ed. B) *te daityaḥ śivabhaktiprānūmukhāḥ | asahanta na liṅgasya nāmapī kim utārcaṇam*.

<sup>503</sup> That this is the Buddhism envisaged here is in keeping with another anti-Buddhist myth in this collection (*Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, chapter 17 and SANDERSON 1995b, p. 94 for a summary). For there the adherents of Buddhism are said to be led by three demons: Heruka, Saṃvara (the two Vajradākas), and Ādibuddha (Kālacakra).



genesis of these texts appears in a work of this kind suggests that it was common knowledge. For the *Haracarilacintāmaṇi*, being concerned with the cults of Śiva at sacred sites, is not addressed to the narrow community of the initiated but to the widest possible audience for a Śaiva text in Sanskrit, that is to say, the uninitiated Śaiva laity. Nor can this text be seen in spite of this as reflecting the knowledge of a learned minority at the time of its composition. For between the opening and closing verses of each chapter the text is written in a rather unpolished style that is so similar to that of the anonymous Purāṇic tracts in praise of sacred sites that it should not be seen as a composition in the full sense of that term but rather as a compilation in which Jayadratha has lightly edited pre-existent materials of this popular genre.<sup>604</sup>

The redactional relation between the Yoginītantras and Śaiva Tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha may not, of course, have been so obvious to learned Buddhists once these texts had been propagated and the work of commentary undertaken, let

17.4: *māyāsambarikō nāmnā herukākhyas ca dāruṇaḥ | ādibuddhābhidhānās cety asurās trayā āsatē; 17.9: vajroḍākāv iti khyātau tadā herukaśambaraḥ | ādibuddhena sahitaḥ surāṇām cakratuḥ bhayam*. Heruka here is evidently Hevajra, since he is described as eight-headed, four-legged, sixteen-armed, and embraced by Nairātmyā (17.5). He leads the Buddhists in their war against the gods. He is surrounded by an army of Mādhyamikas (*mādhyamanāmaṇaḥ*), followers of the Mantranaya (*mantranayātmakāḥ*), bhramamohātmaḥ, mīthayājñāntmakāḥ, Śrāvakas (*śrāvakātmānaḥ*), and Buddhas copulating with their consorts (17.7–8). The meaning of the terms *bhramamohātmaḥ* and *mīthayājñāntmakāḥ* is not immediately obvious. Since it is clear from the context that they refer to distinct groups among the Buddhists (*bhramamohātmaḥ kecin mīthayājñāntmakāḥ pare*) I take them to mean 'those who are devoted to the delusion of [the objective existence of] non-objective cognitions' and 'those who are devoted to the view that [belief in this reality of] cognitions [containing the appearance of their objects] is false', understanding these expressions to refer to the two kinds of Yogicāras, those who hold mind-only with form and mind-only without form respectively to be ultimately real, that is to say Sākāravijñānavādiṇs and Nirākāravijñānavādiṇs. Classifying Mahāyāna Buddhists into Mādhyamikas and these two kinds of Yogicāras and the classification of all these into those who follow the Mantranaya and those who do not, that is to say, those who follow the non-Tantric Pāramitānaya, is a commonplace in the doxographical tradition of late Indian Buddhism; see, e.g., Advayaavajra, *Tattvaratnāvalī*, pp. 4–8; Sahajavajra, *Sihitisamāsa* II. 4v1–6r2 (*nirākārayogācārasthitisamāsaḥ*), II. 6r2–7r1 (*sakārayogācārasthitisamāsaḥ*), II. 7r1–11r3 (*mādhyamāsthitisamāsaḥ*), and II. 11r3–18v5 (*Mantranaya*); Vāgīśvarakīrti, *Tattvaratnāvalokauśavarṇa*, pp. 141–142 (*mantranaye ca vijñānavādamādhyamakamatayor eva pradhānatvāt ...*); Mokṣākaragupta, *Tarkabhāṣā*, pp. 107–110; and KAJIYAMA 1998, pp. 148–151, 154–158.

<sup>604</sup> Consider Jayadratha's own statement at the beginning of the work (1.5): *dese śrīvijayasya nivasan prapaṇāt tatoḥ | caritāṇi trinetrasya śāstradṛṣṭāni gumphaye* 'While living in the land of Śiva Vijayāśvara I shall string together the deeds of the Three-Eyed [God] as I have seen them in the sacred texts, at the instigation of these two [teachers]'.

alone to the ordinary lay devotee of the Buddha. But the iconographical repertoire, the retinue types, the style of worship and Kāpālika observance, and the growing autonomy and diversification of the goddess, are so closely parallel to what we see among the Śākta Śaivas that it is hard to believe that any Indian, learned or not, could have seen these deities and observed the practices of those that propitiated them without being aware of this fact.

This must have been especially so in east India. For the Śākta tradition was particularly strong there, as it still is, and had deep roots in the domain of popular religion, as is evident from such Purāṇas of the region as the *Devipurāṇa*, *Bṛhannāradyapurāṇa*, *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, and *Kālikāpurāṇa*,<sup>605</sup> from non-eastern testimony,<sup>606</sup> from the fact that east-Indian locations are conspicuous in early lists of the Śākta sacred sites,<sup>607</sup> and from the inscriptions and other his-

<sup>605</sup> See CHAKRABARTI 2001 *passim*. The *Devipurāṇa* (39.143–145) lists places where the Mother goddesses are especially present. In this list are Varendra, Rādhā, and Kāmārūpa: *veśyasu gopabālāsū tudahūnakhaṣeṣu ca | pīṭhe himavatās \*cālpa (?) \*jalandhara* (corr.: *jalandhara* Ed.) *savaidiṣe || \*mahodare (?) varendre ca rādhāyāṇi koṣale pure | bhoṭadese sakāmākhye \*kiṣkindhe* (corr.: *kiṣkindhye*) *ca nagottame || malaye \*kollanāme* (conj.: *kollanāme* Ed.) *ca kāñcīyāṇi ca hastināpūre | ujjayinīyāṇi ca tā vidyā viśeṣa vyavasthitāḥ* 'Those Vidyās are especially present among courtesans, cowherd girls, \*Tūḍas (?), Hūṇas, and Khasas, in the sacred site of Himālaya' ... (?), in Jālandhara, Vidiśā, \*Mahodara (?), Varendra, Rādhā, the capital of Kosala, Tibet, Kāmārūpa, the great mountain of Kiṣkindhā, Malaya, \*Kollāgiri (conj.), Kāñci, Hastināpura, and Ujjayini'.

<sup>606</sup> A verse in a Purāṇic passage on the calendrical festivals of Kashmir cited by Lakṣmīdhara early in the twelfth century in the *Niyatākalakāṇḍa* of his *Kṛtyakalpataru* (p. 410, ll. 4–5) associates the sanguinary cult of Durgā/Bhadrakālī with the peoples of Bengal and Orissa (Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kāliṅga), the Kinnaras, the Barbaras, and the Śakas: *evāṇi nānāmlecchagāṇi pūjate sarvadasyubhiḥ | aṅgavāṅgakaliṅgāṇi ca kinnarair barbaraiḥ śakaiḥ* 'She is worshipped in this way by various foreign communities, by all the Dasyyas: the people of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kāliṅga, the Kinnaras, the Barbaras, and the Śakas'. In this list only the people of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kāliṅga and the Iranian Śakas (if this reading is sound) are well-known. As for the Kinnaras and Barbaras, Varāhamihira locates the former, under the synonym *Aśvavādāna*, in the east (*Bṛhatsamhitā* 14.6ab: *khasamagadha-śibiragirimihilasamataḥpādrāsavavadanadanturakāḥ*), and the latter in the south-west (14.18c).

<sup>607</sup> See SANDERSON 2001, p. 7, fn. 4. This is particularly clear in the case of the eight principal sites among the twenty-four: the eight Kṣetras, namely Aṭṭahāsa, Caritra, Kolāgiri, Jayanti, Ujjayini, Prayāga, Varanā/Vārāṇasī, and Koṭivarṣa (see here p. 195), or, in a variant, Prayāga, Varanā/Vārāṇasī, Kollāgiri, Aṭṭahāsa, Jayanti, Caritra, Ekāmra, and Devikoṭa (see, e.g., citation of the *Mādhavakula* in *Tantrālokavivēka* on 29.67; *Kularatnodyota* f. 13r3–4: *prayāgā varuṇā kollā aṭṭahāsā jayantika | caritratāmrakam caiva \*devikoṭam* [corr.: *devikoṭam* Cod.] *tatāḥṭṭamam*). Aṭṭahāsa, Koṭivarṣa/Devikoṭa, Caritra, and Ekāmra are all in eastern India, the first two in Bengal and the last two in Orissa. The location of Jayanti is uncertain. It too is east-Indian if it is the Jayantipura in the Ganjam District of Orissa rather than that in Kārnāṭaka (Banavasi). Other east-Indian sites among the twenty-four are Virāja (Jajpur in Orissa), Nagara (Pātāliputra, in



torical records of this period. Thus when Devapāla is eulogized in an inscription of his son Mahendrapāla it is for two achievements: his martial success and, as we have seen, his building of two exceptional temples, one of the Buddha and the other of the Śaiva Goddess; Śākta Śaiva deities figure strongly, as we have seen, in the various pious works of Nayapāla detailed in the Siyān inscription: several Vāḍabhi temples for goddesses, one of them for a hill-top Carcikā installed by his predecessor Mahendrapāla, temples for the Nine Durgās, and temples for the [Bhairava] Hetukeśvara and a Bhairava accompanied by a retinue of sixty-four Mothers;<sup>508</sup> and Madanapāla, the patron of Saṃdhyākaranandin, is described in that poet's *Rāmācarita* as having attained his success in war through the favour of Caṇḍī.<sup>509</sup> Even the Saiddhāntika Prasasti from Bāṅgarh has a Śākta context, its immediate purpose being to report the building by the Rājaguru Mūrtiśiva of a Vāḍabhi temple for Carcikā.<sup>510</sup>

[Mūrtiśiva], being devoted to pious works, has constructed this Vāḍabhi temple which seems to embody his two halves miraculously transformed in a mountain of snow and a mountain of gold. I fancy that Indra's elephant, now that he can see the wondrous reflection of the lions [on its roof] in the waters of the heavenly Ganges, will recoil [in fear] and no longer drink its waters.

That the temple is described as a Vāḍabhi surmounted by lions establishes that it is a temple of a goddess.<sup>511</sup> The inscription does not state explicitly that this goddess is a Carcikā: it did not need to do so since the inscription was not doubt *in situ*. But we can infer that she was from the fact that the inscription begins with obeisance to her followed by two benedictory verses in her praise.<sup>512</sup>

Obeisance to Carcikā.

May the world be protected by the dust from the feet of Carcikā, worshipped by the creator of the universe, fragrant powder for the heads of all the gods and demons.

May Carcikā protect the world, who at the aeon's end, garlanded with human skulls, with her body becoming desiccated out of anxiety at the poverty of her fare, thinks: 'What shall I eat? If I devour this universe in a single bite, it will be no more than a fragment that will lodge between my teeth. What shall I drink? The water of [all] the seven oceans is insufficient to be visible in the hollow of my palm.'<sup>513</sup>

That a Saiddhāntika Guru should have built a temple for a fearsome goddess of this kind is compelling evidence of the strength of Śāktism in the Pāla realm. For there is nothing in the Siddhānta itself to prompt such a construction, that tradition generally marking itself off from the cults of such deities with their gruesome iconography and their ecstatic and transgressive rites.

Indeed, as this anomalous foundation suggests, the cult of the emaciated Carcikā seems to have been particularly well-established in the region. There are numerous surviving images of this goddess at or from sites in Bihar, West Bengal, Bangladesh, and Orissa, dating from the ninth century to the fourteenth;<sup>514</sup> she figures prominently in the east-Indian Śākta *Devipurāṇa*;<sup>515</sup> and

bhāraś carcikāraṇareṇavaḥ || dāṣṭrāsaṇḍhīnilinam cakavalam viṣṭam tad aśnāmi kiṃ saptaṁbhodhijalāni hastasūre guptāni kim piyate | ity āhāḥ adaridra-takulataḥ śuṣyattanum bibhrati kalpānte nṛkapālamanḍanavidhiḥ pāyāj jagac carcikā.

<sup>513</sup> With these verses compare those of the east-Indian poets Bhāsoka and Umāpatidhara in the anthology *Saduktikarṇāmrta* (vv. 126 and 129), compiled by the east-Indian Śrīdharadāsa in 1205 under Lakṣmaṇasena. Bhāsoka's being east-Indian is evident from his name in -oka; see the many names of this kind in the east-Indian anthologies *Subhāṣitaratnaḥ*, and *Saduktikarṇāmrta*, Amṛtaka, Saṅgokā, Uccoka in the inscriptions of Bengal (N.G. MAJUMDAR 2003, pp. 179, 27, 37, 178), and Dibboka and Rudoka in the commentary on *Rāmācarita* 1.39. Umāpatidhara composed the Deopārī inscription of the Sena king Vijayasena (r. c. 1096–1159) and is reported in Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* to have been a minister of the Sena Lakṣmaṇasena (r. c. 1179–1206); see N.G. MAJUMDAR 2003, p. 45.

<sup>514</sup> See Camunda (Cāmūṇḍā) in the *Huntington Archive*. For Orissa see also DONALDSON 1991.

<sup>515</sup> See in particular *Devipurāṇa*, Patalas 7 and 9 (> *Agnipurāṇa* 135) on Cāmūṇḍā's Padamālāmantra. In that Mantra Cāmūṇḍā is described as having her body clothed with an elephant hide (*gajacarmaprāptasāre*). This feature, which was borrowed from the iconography of Śiva not only by Cāmūṇḍā but also, as we have seen, by Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhi, is found in most of her east-Indian images. See *Huntington Archive*, Scans 0058416 (Bangladesh), 0060042 (Itahar, North Dinajpur District, West Bengal), 0013693 (findspot not recorded), 0013697 (findspot not recorded), 0002686 (Harsinghpur, Darbhanga, Bihar), 0000308 (West Bengal),

Bihar), and Puṇḍravardhana (in Bengal) among the eight Saṃdhas or Upakṣetras (*Niṣaṃpāra* f. 15v1 [3.26]; *Kubjikāmata* 22.32–38), and Pṛthūpura (Peṭṭāpura in Kalinga, in the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh), and Rājagṛha (in Bihar) among the eight Upakṣetras or Saṃdhas (*Niṣaṃpāra* f. 15v3–4 [3.29]; *Kubjikāmata* 39–46). We see the same emphasis on the east of India in the scheme of nine sacred sites (three Pīṭhas, three, Upapīṭhas, and three Saṃdhas) taught in the *Niṣaṃpāra*. In the version of that text known to Abhinavagupta and his commentator Jayaratha the three Pīṭhas are Kāmarūpa (Assam), Pārnagiri (in the Deccan), and Uddiyāna (Swat). The Upapīṭhas and Saṃdhas are Puṇḍravardhana, Vārendra, Ekāmra, Devikoṭa (all four in eastern India), Ujjayini, and Kollagiri; see *Tantrāloka* 15.83c–88.

<sup>509</sup> For Nayapāla's foundations see here pp. 111–114.

<sup>508</sup> Saṃdhyākaranandin, *Rāmācarita* 4.21: *conclīcaranāsarajaprasādasampennavigrahadrikam | na khalu madanam sāṅgeṣam itam agāj jagadūjayasirā* 'Did not the glory of world-conquest come to King Madana when, with the king of Anga, he had achieved success in battle by the favour of the lotus-like feet of Caṇḍī?

<sup>509</sup> SHUKLA 1983b, v. 25: *teneyam himakāśāncalanamahakautāhalāśvetasatyārdhārthavapasmāto vāḍabhi punyātmanā nirmittā | yatsamhapratibhikam ambara-dhūntiyeṣu manye 'bhūtanā dṛṣṭvā saṃkṣudānaghrir adya na jalāny airūvataḥ* 'pāsyati (cm.: pāsyati Ep.).

<sup>511</sup> See here p. 112.

<sup>512</sup> *om namas carcikāyai || surāsurāśāṭreṇipapaśasasamā jagat | pānta tūṣakṛtā-*



in early canonical treatments of the Śākta Śaiva sacred sites this goddess is said to preside at Devikoṭa,<sup>516</sup> Puṇḍravardhana,<sup>517</sup> both in Varendrī, and Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) in Orissa.<sup>518</sup> In the first she has the name Karṇamoṭī,<sup>519</sup> according to the *Niśaṃcāra*, *Picumata*, and *Kubjikāmata*, and Bahumāṃsā according to the *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākāṇḍa*.<sup>520</sup> In the other two she is called Cāmuṇḍā.

0013061 (Dighapatia, Natore District, Bangladesh), 0002607 (Munger [Monghyr], Bihar), 0013063 (Bangladesh), 0013062 (Mahāture, Dinajpur District), and 0013476 (Vikramapura, Dacca District, Bangladesh); also *AIISPL* Acc. no. 32782 (Advahati, Burdwan, West Bengal). It is not generally seen in images of Cāmuṇḍā from other regions. An exception is a fine sculpture at Khajuraho (*AIISPL* Acc. no. 45199) from the Chandella period (c. 900–1150). It is perhaps to be introduced by emendation into the description of Cāmuṇḍā's icon in *Agnipurāṇa* 50.21c–23b: *cāmuṇḍā koṭarakeṣṭi syān nirmāṃsā tu trilocanā || nirmāṃsā asthiedrā vā ūrdhvaśeṣṭi kṛṣṇodart || \*dūpacārmadharā (dūpa conj. : dūpi Ed.) vāme kapālaṃ poṭṭiṣāṃ kare || śūlaṃ kartṛi dākṣiṇe 'syāḥ śavārūdhāsthihūṣaṇā*.

<sup>516</sup> See here p. 112.

<sup>517</sup> *Niśaṃcāra* f. 18v2–3 (4.35–36): *cāmuṇḍeti ca \*vikhyāṭā* (em. : *vikhyā* Cod.) *devyā vā \*puṇḍravardhane* (corr. : *puṇḍa* Cod.) | *mahābalakulotpannā kṣatpāṇa-karāśobhitā || 36 bhuktumuktikarā devyā saṃdohakṣetrasaṃsthītā || kumbhākhyo kṣetrapālās ca tasmīn kṣetre yuvavasthitāḥ || Kālikulakramārcana* f. 21v1: *HRĪḤ ŚRĪḤ ŚRĪ \*PUNDRAVARDHANAMAHOPAKṢETRE CĀMUṇḍĀ-AMBĀPĀDA* (*puṇḍra* corr. : *pūṇḍa* Cod.).

<sup>518</sup> *Niśaṃcāra* f. 31r1–2: *\*ekāmre* (em. : *ekātye* Cod.) *\*saṃsthito* (corr. : *saṃsthītā* Cod.) *devi kirtī vāseti* (corr. : *īseti* Cod.) *\*kirtitāḥ* (corr. : *kirtitā* Cod.) | *cāmuṇḍāyā* (corr. : *cāmuṇḍāyā* Cod.) *saṃāyu \*kṭāḥ* (corr. : *kṭāṃ* Cod.) *sthānā-baliṣamanvi \*tam* (corr. : *taḥ* Cod.); *Kubjikāmata* 15.28–30: *vartamānikakalpe te ekāmraavanāntagāḥ || kapālīśa \*kuleśānacāmuṇḍācakramadhyagāḥ (kuleśāna corr. : kuleśānaṃ Ed.) || 29 śrīkuleśvaradevasya hṛtpadme 'ṣṭadale sthitāḥ || tśānakravayogena sṛṣṭimārgāvalambikūḥ || 30 karṇikāyaṃ sthito devaś catuṣka-parivṛtāḥ || raktākaraḷācāṇḍākṣimahochchusmāsāmanvitatāḥ || Kularatnodaya* f. 16r2 (c. 3140c–142b): *ekāmraavanāntasthā utpannā ch> paramaśvari || 141 kapālīśasamopetās cāmuṇḍā \*cakramadhyagāḥ* (corr. : *śakara* Cod.) | *plṣṭhasthānā-śroyadūhātās catasro 'nyā <h> paramāmbike || 142 raktā karālā cāṇḍākṣi ucchuṣmeti prakṛitūḥ*.

<sup>519</sup> Karṇamoṭī is listed as a synonym of Cāmuṇḍā in *Amarakośa* 1.1.92 (see here p. 231). The name appears for Cāmuṇḍā in the series of eight Mother goddesses when these are given as the deities of the seven sets of sounds of the Sanskrit syllabary plus KṢA in *Siddhahoyeśvarīmatā* 16.41c–43c: *kavarge saṃsthītā brāhmī cavarage caiva vaiṣṇavī || māheśvarī jāvargasthā yāmyā pūjyā ta-m-ādinā || kaumārī sarpaavalayā pādyenaitāṃ prapūjyate || yavarge vāsavi tātra karṇamoṭī ḍa-m-ādinā || krodhe 'jīeyā* (conj. : *seyā* Ed.) *parā śaktir aghoreṣṭi 'Brāhmī* is in the gutturals, Vaiṣṇavī in the palatals, Māheśvarī in the retroflexes, and Yāmyā in the dentals. He should worship snake-bangled Kaumārī with the labials. Aindrī is in the semi-vowels and Karṇamoṭī (= Cāmuṇḍā) in the sibilants. Know that the goddess in *kṣa* is the supreme Power Aghoreśvarī. The origin of the name is unknown, the common interpretation 'Ear-pearl' being implausible since it fails to account for the retroflex *t*.

<sup>520</sup> *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākāṇḍa* 171.109, 112, 124 This name is probably an epithet that served as this Karṇamoṭī's personal name and so does not indicate a different goddess. The epithet, meaning 'having much meat', no doubt refers to her insa-

Of these sites Devikoṭa appears to have been of special importance from early times. The *Mādhavakula* refers to it simply as Śrīpīṭha, that is to say, as the Seat [of the Goddess];<sup>521</sup> and the *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākāṇḍa* describes it<sup>522</sup> as a city originally fashioned by Brahmā where this goddess and the other Mothers who accompany her were created by Śiva and the other gods from their own bodies in order to destroy the demons who had seized it. After the city has been freed Śiva declares that henceforth it will be the Mothers' sacred abode,<sup>523</sup> that he will reside here with them as Hetukeśvara,<sup>524</sup> and that they will be worshipped following ritual procedures taught in Tantras that will be composed for this purpose by the grateful gods. The titles of these Tantras of the Mothers (*māṭṛtantrāṇi*), which are listed in the narrative, reveal them to be Yāmalatantras, headed by the *Brahmayāmala*.<sup>525</sup>

tiable appetite for animal sacrifices. The alternative, that it means 'fleshy', that is to say, full-bodied, is highly implausible, since she is described here as the destroyer of the universe and as having a hideous form (171.108c–109: *tato devo 'ṣṭjad devīm rudrāṇīṃ mātaraṃ śubhāḥ || vikṛtāṃ rūpaṃ āsthāya dviṣṭyāṃ api mātaram || nāmnā tu bahumāṃsāṃ tāṃ jagatsaṃhārārūpiṇīm* 'Then the deity [Śiva] emanated the fine Mother goddess Rudrāṇī, and, taking on a hideous form, a second Mother, the [well-known goddess] called Bahumāṃsā, who embodies the destruction of the universe'.

<sup>521</sup> See here p. 192 and *Tantrāloka* 29.60cd.

<sup>522</sup> *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākāṇḍa* 171.78–137, referring to Devikoṭa under its name Koṭivarṇa. See here p. 113.

<sup>523</sup> *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākāṇḍa* 171.120c–121b [Śiva addresses the Mothers]: *bhavatīṃ idam sthānaṃ koṭivarṇam iti śrutam | bhaviṣyati jagatkhyātāṃ sarvopāpāramocanam* 'This place known as Koṭivarṇa will be yours, famed throughout the world, with the power to free from any sin'; 171.133cd: *koṭivarṇam idam sthānaṃ māṭṛṇāṃ priyam uttamam*.

<sup>524</sup> *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākāṇḍa* 171.121c–122b [Śiva addresses the Mothers]: *ahaṃ hetur hi yuṣmākaṃ yasmāt sṛṣṭā mayāiva ca || herukeśvaranāmnāṇāṃ sthāsyāmy atra varapradaḥ || yuṣmābhīḥ saha vatsyāmi nāyakaṭve yuvavasthitāḥ || yas tu yuṣmān mayā sārḍhaṃ vidhiyat pūjāyiyati | sarvopāpavimuktātmā sa parāṃ gaṭim āpsyati* 'Because I am your cause (*hetuḥ*) and it was I that created [you], I shall be present here to bestow boons with the name Hetukeśvara. I shall dwell here with you as your leader. Whoever correctly worships you with me will be freed from all sins and attain the highest goal'.

<sup>525</sup> *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikākāṇḍa* 171.127–132b [Śiva addresses the Mothers]: *ahaṃ brahmā ca viṣṇuś ca śṛṇvās ca tapodhanāḥ || māṭṛtantrāṇi divyāni mātrajānavidhiḥ \*prati* (conj. : *param* Cod.) *|| 128 puṇyāni prakariṣyāmo yajanaṃ yair avāpṣyatha || brāhmaṇa svāyambhuvaṃ caiva kaumārāṃ yāmalaṃ tathā || 129 sarvasatvaṃ ca gāndhāraṃ aiśāṇāṃ nandiyāmalaṃ | tantrāṇy etāni yuṣmākaṃ talhānyāṃ sahasraśaḥ || 130 bhaviṣyanti narā yaśis tu yuṣmān yakṣyanti bhaktiḥ | naraṇāṃ yajamānānāṃ varān yajām pradāsyatha || 131 divyasiddhipradā devyo divyayogā bhaviṣyatha | yās ca nāryāḥ sadā yuṣmān yakṣyante sarahasayataḥ || 132 yogeśvaro bhaviṣyanti rāmā divyaparākramāḥ 'I, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and the ascetic sages will compose excellent and holy Māṭṛtantras for the rites of the worship of the Mothers, by means of which you shall receive offerings. The Brah-*



Moreover, it is probable that some at least of the surviving east-Indian images of the emaciated goddess reproduce the iconography of this important local form. An image of Carikā from the Dinajpur District of Bangladesh, in which Devikoṭa was located, shows the goddess seated beneath a banyan tree,<sup>526</sup> and we see the same in an image from an unrecorded site in West Bengal.<sup>527</sup> In both images severed human heads are attached by their hair to the tree's branches, indicating that the site of this tree is a cremation ground, since cremation grounds were also places of execution.<sup>528</sup> Now, in the tradition of the *Picumata* and the *Nisīsaṃcāra* each of the major Śākta sites is a cremation ground with its own distinctive sacred tree; and in the case of Koṭivarṣa/Devikoṭa this is in-

*mayāmala*, the *Śvayambhūyāmala*, the *Skandayāmala*, the *Saravatayāmala*, the *Gāndhārāyāmala*, the *Līnayāmala*, and the *Nandiyāmala*: you shall have these Tantras and others in thousands, and with them men will sacrifice to you in devotion. You will grant boons to men who sacrifice to you. Being goddesses of celestial power you will bestow celestial Siddhis. And women who sacrifice to you regularly with the secret [rites] will become Yogesvarīs, women of celestial might'. On the list of Yāmalatantras in this passage and its relation to lists of such texts in the *Vidyāpīṭha* see SANDERSON 2001, pp. 6–7, fn. 4. The *Brahmayāmala*, also called *Picumata*, teaches the worship of Bhairava as Hetuka surrounded with the Goddess by eight Viras and twenty-four Yoginīs in its eightieth chapter (f. 306r2–3; 80.02–03): *ketukam devadevīṣaṃ kapālakṛtābhūṣaṇam | vīrūṣṭakayutaṃ madhye devadevīm parodayaṃ || kālāgnīśvayam yuktam adhordhvakṛtāsaṃgātīm | nyaset svarūpabhāvanāṃ tato yagisāṇaṃ nyaset*. It is striking that this reference to Hetuka, presumably the Bhairava of Devikoṭa, is found in a chapter which is distinguished by being one of the very few passages in the *Vidyāpīṭha* that departs from the Tantric norm by containing material of the Purāṇic type, the subject which gives it its title being a myth of the origin of the skull-bowl and skull-staff (*kapālakṛtāvṛṇṇatīk*).

<sup>526</sup> Pala period; black stone; 9 inches in height; now in the Varendra Museum in Rajshahi: *Huntington Archive*, Scan 0015117.

<sup>527</sup> Sena period; black stone; 25.75 inches in height; now in the National Museum, New Delhi: *Huntington Archive* Scan 0000308.

<sup>528</sup> See, e.g., *Kumārāsambhava* 5.73cd; *Kāthāsaritāsāgara* 18.130d; *Rājatarāṅgini* 2.79–84; *Picumata* 3.32d–93, describing the depiction of the cremation ground in Prabhāsa: *tato nimbam samālikhet | saptaśālaṃ mahābhīmā cūṭibhiḥ prajvalantibhiḥ | cakraśmīṃ likhet śāle nagnam vābaddhakam naram* Then he should depict a Nimb tree with seven branches, most frightening with the burning pyres [around it]. On each branch he should draw a naked hanged man'; 15.16: *kṛṇṇatanyām caturdaśyām śvām gṛhya tva sūdhakāḥ | vābaddham śūlaprotāṃ vā akpātāṅgaṃ tu dāraṃ; Jayadrathayāmala*, *Saṅga* 3, *Yoginīsāṃcāraprakaraṇa* 8.71c–72b, describing the depiction of cremation grounds: *yānyādyair nairṇṇāṭais tu dīdārī rṣṣāṇ samālikhet || vābaddhanāprachāraṇān; Vajragarbha* on *Hecavira* 1.7.21 (*dhvajaṃ śāstrahatam caiva*) quoted in SNELLGROVE 1959, Pl. 1, p. 71, n.: *rgyal mtshan ni rgyal pos rhan pa la sogs pa skyes pa 'am bud med 'ja' chig chod pas bod de lus mtshan gye dral nas ro shing la dpyang pa'o'a dhvajaḥ is a corpse of some man or woman guilty of theft or some other crime whom the king has had executed with the sword, which has then been hung up on a tree [in the cremation ground]*.

deed the banyan (*vaṭavṛkṣaḥ*).<sup>529</sup> This strongly suggests that the local Carikā of Devikoṭa may have been multiplied in the manner of the Naṭarāja of the Tamil country, which though originally the deity of Cidambaram was established in secondary forms in temples throughout the region. We may note also that most of the surviving east-Indian Carikās hold the trident, often as the most conspicuous of their held attributes. Both the *Picumata* and the *Nisīsaṃcāra* specify this as the weapon distinctive of the Karṇamoṭī of Devikoṭa, and the *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikāhṇḍa* says that it is because the goddess of this place slew the demons with her trident here that the site contains a sacred bathing-place called Śūlakunḍa 'the pond of the trident' and that anyone who drinks its water (*śūlodakam*) after doing obeisance to her will be safe from all harmful beings (171.124–125). The *Picumata* too refers to this Kunḍa.<sup>530</sup>

Finally, the pre-eminence of the emaciated goddess in the Śāktism of eastern India during this period is strongly underlined by the fact it is she that the Buddhists of the cult of Cakrasaṃvara chose to represent supine beneath the right foot of Śaṃvara and Vajravārāhi as the female representative of the Śākta Śaiva tradition.

In textual references to that Buddhist icon she is generally called Kālārātri. But there can be no doubt about her identity. For (1) she is called Carikā in the *Vajravārāhisādhana* of the Siddha Lūyī,<sup>531</sup> and Cāmuṇḍā in a Kalpa of the *Abhidhānottara* and in the anonymous *Trayodaśātmakavajradākinivajravārāhisādhana*, which is based upon it,<sup>532</sup> (2) Carikā is called Kālārātri in a

<sup>529</sup> See here p. 112. That the sacred sites are the cremation grounds (*śmaśānam*) of the places listed is clear from the context in the *Picumata*, that (3.8–127) being a description of the nine cremation grounds that must be installed in the initiation Maṇḍala (*mahāmaṇḍalam*), one at the centre (Prayāga) and eight around the periphery (Vārāṇasī, Virājā [Jaipur in Orissa], Kollāgiri [Kolhapur in Kārnāṭaka], Prabhāsa [in Kathiawar], Ujjayinī [in Malwa], Bhūteśvara [in Mathurā?], Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar in Orissa), and Koṭivarṣa). It is also clear from the account of Koṭivarṣa given in the *Skandapurāṇa-Ambikāhṇḍa*, since that prophesies that the site will become a cremation ground (171.133c–134b): *koṭivarṣam idaṃ śīhanāṃ mātṛāṃ priyam uttamam || śmaśānaṃ pravaraṃ dīpāṃ bhaviṣyati sukhapradam*.

<sup>530</sup> *Picumata* f. 8r3 (3.119c–121b): *iśāne tu diśābhāge koṭivarṣam prakalpayet || 120 vāṇam tatra samālikhya tatra śūlodakam likhet | dikṣu caiva vidikṣu ca śūlaprotā likhet tathā || 121 śāla tasyāgrato likhya kunḍasyaiva mahātape*. It appears from this that the pond (*kunḍam*) was also known as the Śūlodaka.

<sup>531</sup> *Guhyasamayasādhana* mālā f. 11r1–2: *vāmabāhustanamāṇḍalāhrdayasambhava-milīṭadakṣiṇāṅghriṃ* (em.: *milīṭa* | *dakṣiṇāṅghri* Cod.) *carikā* <ṇ> *raktā* <ṇ> *dakṣiṇāśīraḥpatitā* <ṇ>.

<sup>532</sup> *Abhidhānottara*, *Paṭala* 56, A f. 173v2: *pādatalākṛtāḥ tabhairavacāmuṇḍā* 'treading on Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā with the soles of her feet'; *Trayodaśātmakavajradākinivajravārāhisādhana* in *Guhyasamayasādhana* mālā, f. 78r4–5: *pādākṛānta* \**kṛta-sambhucāmuṇḍam* (em.: *kṛtāṃ* | *sambhucāmuṇḍam* Cod.). For the full visualiza-



verse by the east-Indian poet Bhāsoka,<sup>533</sup> and (3) the goddess beneath the foot of Śaṃvara/Vajravārāhī is depicted as emaciated, with sunken eyes and withered breasts, holding a skull-bowl and chopping knife in her two hands.<sup>534</sup> The emaciated Carikās of our surviving images have four, six, eight, or ten arms, but the skull-bowl (*kapālam*) and chopping knife (*kartrikā*) are indeed among their four primary attributes, the other two being the trident and a severed head.<sup>535</sup> The goddess beneath the right foot is, as it were, the east-Indian Carikā reduced to essentials: the emaciated body, the red colour, and only two arms, brandishing what were felt to be her two most basic attributes.

It is inconceivable, therefore, that east-Indians, for whom Śākta Śaivism was so central, then as now, would not have been conscious of the Śākta Śaiva guise of this new Buddhism; and it is equally inconceivable that they would have been blind to the fact that the humiliated goddess supine beneath Śaṃvara's and Vajravārāhī's feet was the pre-eminent goddess of the east-Indian Śākta tradition. Clearly the east-Indian Buddhists who developed this iconography chose this goddess precisely because she occupied so prominent a position in that tradition and therefore would be instantly recognized.

In explanation of why this profound transformation of Buddhism occurred, we might be tempted to say that Buddhism was simply yielding ever more completely to the Śākta Śaiva religious tradition then dominant in the region, failing, as it were, to maintain its original purity in the face of this external pressure and the concomitant expectations of its patrons. This was perhaps how the matter would have been represented by the Śrāvākayānistās; and no doubt there is some truth in this assessment, since it is extremely unlikely that east-Indian Buddhists would have chosen to develop this new manifestation of their religion if Śākta Śaivism had not become the pre-eminent religious idiom of the region. But

the iconography of the humiliation of Carikā and Bhairava and the extensive learned literature that developed around the kernel of the Yoginītantras alert us to the fact that those who created and refined this tradition saw the matter in an entirely different light. In their view they were not succumbing passively to an alien influence. Fully conscious that they were assimilating the dominant Śākta Śaiva idiom of the region, they justified their doing so as a means of converting non-Buddhists, taking their practices and encoding them with Buddhist meaning so that outsiders could rise effortlessly through what was familiar to them to what would save them, a view exactly reflected in Jayadratha's myth of the compilation of anti-Śaiva iconography, Śākta Śaiva liturgy, Mantras, and Buddhist doctrine as a means of luring devout Śaivas away from their faith.

For while the learned literature of Tantric Buddhism claims with sincere conviction that its special methods are designed for exceptionally able aspirants within the Buddhist fold,<sup>536</sup> its point of entry, namely initiatory introduction before the Maṇḍala, was designed to facilitate the recruitment of those outside it and to this end access was rendered as easy as possible. Thus in the seventh century the *Mahāvairocanaḥśaṃbodhi* sets out a number of qualities to be sought in candidates but states that if even only one of these is present there is no need to investigate further;<sup>537</sup> and in the eighth century the *Sarvatathāgata-*

tion text of which this is part see ENGLISH 2002, p. 407, n. 207.

<sup>533</sup> *Saduktikāraṇḍī* 126. For the east-Indian character of names in -oka see here p. 227.

<sup>534</sup> For this depiction see two stone sculptures from Ratnagiri in Orissa (LINROTHE 1999, figs. 198–202), two bronzes, one from Vikramaśīla and the other from an unrecorded site in eastern India (LINROTHE 1999, figs. 206–208), a Kashmirian bronze (PAL 1975, Plate 64a,b; LINROTHE 1999, fig. 211; *Huntington Archive Scan* 0059531), some early Tibetan bronzes (LINROTHE 1999, figs. 213–214), a Nepalese bronze of the fourteenth century (PAL 2003, fig. 31), a Nepalese bronze dated 1772 (REEDY 1997, fig. N299), a painting from Khara-khoto, before 1227 (RHIE and THURMAN 1991, fig. 92), and a Nepalese painting of the early seventeenth century (KREIJGER 1999, p. 53). In some Tibetan paintings Kālarātri's emaciation is absent (e.g., PAL 2003, fig. 117; KOSSAK and SINGER 1998, fig. 43; RHIE and THURMAN 1991, fig. 69.2); but that this is a secondary development can be inferred from its much more restricted occurrence.

<sup>535</sup> See Camunda (Cāmūṇḍā) in *Huntington Archive*.

<sup>536</sup> See, for example, the doctrine of the four points of superiority of the Tantric form of the Mahāyāna, the Mantranāya, over the non-Tantric Way of the Perfections (*pāramitānaya*) asserted in the *\*Nayatrāyapradīpa* by an author whose name appears in the Tenjur as Tripiṭakamala, an implausible name, perhaps an error for Tripiṭakamalla (*Tshul gsum gyi sgron ma*, f.16v3: *de yang pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa chen po dang don gcig pa las de'i khyad par gang dag yod pa de bñod par bya'o | don gcig nyid 'ang ma rmongs dang | thabs mang dka' ba med phyir dang | dbang po rñon po'i dbang byas pa | sngags kyi bstan bcos khyad par 'phags* 'More-over, although there may be no difference in the goal [of the Mantramahāyāna] from that of the Pāramitāmahāyāna the points that distinguish [the former] should be stated]. This has been done in the following verse: "Though the goal is one and the same the Mantrāsāstra is superior (1) because it is free of delusion [on the path], (2) because it offers many methods [for reaching the goal], (3) because it is free of difficulties, and (4) because only those with the highest capacity are qualified [to undertake it]". The Sanskrit of the verse is preserved through citation (without attribution) in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* of Advayaṃvāja (p.8) (A), the *Sthitāmāsa* of his disciple Sahajavajra (f.11v2 [6.5]) (B), and the anonymous *Subhāṣitasamgraha* (part 2, p. 31) (C): *ekārthatve 'py asaṃmohād \*bahūpāyād* (AB Tib. [*thabs mang*] : *vajropāyād C*) *aduṣkarāt | tñkñendriyādhikārāc ca mantrāsāstram viśiṣyate*. It has also been cited by Ka ro pa (Kāropā?), wrongly attributing it to a *\*Pradīpodyotanatantra* (*sgron ma gal ba'i rgyud*), in his commentary on the *Caturmudrānaya* (MATHES 2008, p. 96). According to the view of some, as reported by Gzhon nu dpal, Ka ro pa was another disciple of Advayaṃvāja (*Blue Annals*, pp. 842–843, 847–849, reported by MATHES [2008, p. 89] as saying that he was a disciple of Advayaṃvāja's disciple Vajrapāṇi).

<sup>537</sup> *rNam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud* (*Mahāvairocana-*







hopes fulfilled in accordance with their desires. Venerable [Tathāgatas], there are (3) people who cannot grasp the nature of the understanding of the Mahāyāna of all the Tathāgatas because they are attached to dancing, singing, joking, amusements, and the pleasures of eating, and [so] take initiation before the Maṇḍalas of other, [non-Buddhist] families of deities. Being afraid of the moral regulations [of Buddhism] they do not enter the Maṇḍalas of the family of all the Buddhas, which comprise the fulfilment of all aspirations, which bestow the highest happiness, delight, and joy. It is for these too, who are inclined to enter the way of Maṇḍalas that lead to bad rebirths, that this entry into the Maṇḍala of Vajradhātu is appropriate, so that they may experience every happiness and delight, the highest Siddhi, joy, and contentment and be turned aside from the path that leads them to enter all [Maṇḍalas that result in] bad rebirths. Venerable [Tathāgatas], there are also (4) pious persons, who seek the Buddhas' enlightenment by means of the morality (*śīlam*), concentrations (*samādhiḥ*), and wisdom (*prajñā*) of all the Tathāgatas but who experience hardship as they strive to attain the levels of the meditations (*dhyānam*), liberations (*vimokṣaḥ*), and the other [states on the path taught in the Pāramitānaya]. They will easily attain All-Buddha-hood without difficulty in this very life (*atraya*), all the more so other Siddhis, simply by entering this Maṇḍala of Vajradhātu.

Thus the text offered Maṇḍala initiation not only to Buddhists, and in particular to those who had found themselves unable to progress on the exacting path of the Pāramitānaya, but also to sinners and sensualists regardless of their religion, and, most important in the present context, to outsiders who had already taken a non-Buddhist Tantric initiation or might otherwise be expected do so.

The *Sarvatathāgatataṭtvasaṃgraha* does not tell us whether it has particular kinds of non-Buddhist Tantrics in mind. We can only guess from the character of the initiation ceremony, with its emphasis on possession, and the cult to which initiation leads, with its erotic and sensual elements, that Śākta Śaivas must have been intended. Later sources, however, do make clear that it is indeed the non-Buddhist followers of the kinds of practice being adapted by the Buddhists that are in mind. Thus Ānandagarbha, the period of whose activity, though not yet narrowly determined, may be assigned to the ninth century,<sup>541</sup> attempting

<sup>541</sup> The dating of Ānandagarbha in the ninth century seems probable solely on the grounds of the range of his exegesis, which covers the Yogāntara systems of the *Sarvatathāgatataṭtvasaṃgraha* (his *Sarvavajrodaya*, his commentaries on the *Sarvatathāgatataṭtvasaṃgraha* [Tōh. 2511]), the *Pāramādyā* (his commentary [Tōh. 2512]), the *Māyājāla* (his commentary [Tōh. 2513]), the *Guhyasamāja* (his commentary [Tōh. 1917]), and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālaṣaṃvara* (his commentary on the *Sarvakaṭpasamuccaya* [Tōh. 1662]). In the last of these Tantric systems we also have in Sanskrit but not in Tibetan translation his *Vajrajalodaya nāma śrīherukasādhanaṣayikā* in a codex photographed by Rāhula Śāṅkrītyāyana

in his commentary on the *Guhyasamajatantra* to explain the extraordinary fact that the place where the Buddha is said to have been residing at the time that he revealed this Tantra is the vaginas of the goddesses, declares:<sup>542</sup>

If it is asked why he was residing in their private parts, the answer is [that this is] in order to bring it about that those devoted to the Tantras of Viṣṇu and the other [gods], who have not yet abandoned [their attachment to] the objects of the senses, may come through desire itself to delight in the abandoning of desire. For they seek to attain the Siddhis of such [gods] as Viṣṇu by resorting to women, and using such [offerings] as beef and urine. Those engaged in the quest for the Siddhis taught by these [gods do indeed] copulate with women [for this purpose]. For [it is said in their texts]: "Viṣṇu is Bhagavān [the possessor of *bhaga*-] in that he resides in the genitals (*bhaga*-) of women. He is called Nārāyaṇa [for the same reason,] because [by residing there] he gives pleasure to men".<sup>543</sup>

in the Ngor monastery in Tibet which comprises apart from this work forty-one items pertaining to the cult of Hevajra (ISAACSON 1999). The dating is supported by the tradition (*Blue Annals*, p. 373) that he was a pupil of Dipankarabhadra, who was a pupil of Buddhajñāna, a contemporary of king Dharmapala (r.c. 775–812) (see here p. 93).

<sup>542</sup> *gSang ba 'dus pa'i dka' grel*, f. 4r3-5: *ci'i phyir de dag gis gsang ba la bzhugs she na | smras pa khyab 'jug la sogs pa'i rgyud la mngon par dga' zhing yul yongs su mi spong ba mams ni 'dod chags khyis 'dod chags spong ba 'di la dga' ba bskyed par bya'i phyir te | 'di ltar bud med bsten pa dang \*ba sha dang (conj.: bshad Derge, Cone, Ganden) gci la sogs pa bsten pas khyad 'jug la sogs pa bsgrub par 'dod cing | des bstan pa'i dngos grub tshol pa la zhugs pa de dag btsun mo'i gsang pa la mngon par 'jug par 'gyur te | de yang | bha ga legs ldan khyab 'jug stc | bud med kyi ni mdoms na gnas | mi rnams dga' bar byed pas na | des na sred med bu zhes bya zhes bshad do.*

<sup>543</sup> The unknown author of this verse intends a *nirvacanam* of *nārāyaṇaḥ*. A *nirvacanam* is a kind of semantic analysis that explains why a word is appropriate to that to which it is applied (*anvārtha*-). When this is not thought to be adequately revealed through ordinary grammatical analysis one may resort to an analysis in which the meaning sought is discovered by deriving one or more of a word's syllables from a verbal root that resembles it in sound. See the analysis of Yāska's statement of this principle in KAHRS 1998, pp. 35–39. In this case the name is made to mean 'he who gives pleasure to men'. The first component in this analysis of *nārāyaṇaḥ* was evidently *nāra*-, understood as either as 'sons of man' (*nara*-) by *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.3.120 (*lasyedam*; cf. *Manusmṛiti* 1.10ab in another *nirvacanam* of *nārāyaṇaḥ*: *āpo nārā itī prokṭā āpo vai naraśūnavah*), or as 'men' (*nara*-) by application of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.3.136 (*anyeṣām api dr̥ṣyate*) to account for non-standard lengthening of the first vowel. For these two alternatives see Kullūka on *Manusmṛiti* 1.10ab and Medhātithi on the same for the second. Since *aya*- can mean 'good fortune', I speculate that the author found his meaning by deriving the last syllable, *-na*, from *√nr*- 'to lead [to]', arriving by this artifice at 'he who leads men to good fortune, i.e. happiness' (*nārān ayaṃ sukhaṃ nayatīti nārāyaṇaḥ*), the substitution of *n* for *r* being caused by the preceding *r*. The artificial derivation of *-na* from *√nr*- is seen in the semantic analysis of *saṃanāḥ* for the fourth of the five vital energies implicit in, e.g., *Nisāśanaya* 4.124ab (*Nisāśatattvasaṃhita* 4.10r3) (> *Svacchandatantra* 7.308d): *saṃanāḥ samatām nayet*, and *Sārdhatrisatkalottara*



It comes as a surprise that Ānandagarbha attributes the extreme Tantric practices that he details here to Vaiṣṇavas, since nothing of this kind has been noted in their known literature. Because of this and because the use of female consorts, cow-flesh, urine and other products of the male and female body in the propitiation of deities for the attaining of supernatural powers or effects appears in our sources to be the hallmark of the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha, and of the *Picumata* in particular,<sup>544</sup> it is tempting to propose that Ānandagarbha has made a mistake and that had he been better informed or less careless he would have attributed these practices to those whom we know to have adopted them. But this cannot easily be accepted in the light of the fact that he backs up his attribution by citing a verse that supports it. I conclude, therefore, that his claim is rather evidence that some Vaiṣṇavas had assimilated the transgressive, Śākta Śaiva style of observance, just as the Buddhists had. In any case, whatever the accuracy of this attribution, it is extremely unlikely that Ānandagarbha did not also have the Śākta Śaivas in mind when he referred to "those devoted to the Tantras of Viṣṇu and other [gods]".

Similarly Śraddhākaravarman, one of the Indian teachers of the Tibetan translator Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), says in his \*Yoganiruttara-

10.10cd: *samaṃ nayati gātreṣu samāno nāma mūrtaḥ*.

<sup>544</sup> See, e.g., *Picumata* f.280v4: 67.71 *śaktigarte kṣipet liṅgaṃ tataḥ pūjācā* sandrabhet | *gati-rāgatiyogena śaktivikṣobhataparah* 'He should insert his penis into the vagina of his consort and then begin the worship, intent on bringing his consort to orgasm through to-and-fro motion'; f. 106v3-4: 22.152 *śaktim tu kṣobhayan mantri vidyāyūṣasatam jāpet* | *mantrasya vā jape caiva trayāśvaidhātum* || 153 *dravyapūjāya purā kṛtvā gomāṃsam kiñcisamṛtaṃ* | *śurāḥśhinā samāyuktam piṣṭam piṇḍikṛtan tataḥ* || 154 *kṣobhadraṣṭya samamardya liṅgākāraṃ tu kārayet* | *prakṣipet yunimadhye tu nimigam cālyā pūjāy* || 155 *mantram uccārayen mantri samkhyāyūṣasatam tathā* | *kārayitvā tu tam liṅgaṃ guḍikāṃ kārayet tataḥ* || 156 *japāranavidhau nityam pūjāyet siddhahottamah* 'The Mantra-adept should arouse his consort and [as he does so] repeat the Vidyā 108 times. He should do the repetition of his Mantra as prescribed in the procedure for his set of deities. First he should swallow the substances. Then he should grind cow-flesh mixed with faeces and *śurāḥśhi* (urine?) into a ball, knead it with the ejaculates, make it into the shape of a Liṅga, insert it into [his consort's] vagina, move it about for a short while and then compress it. The Mantra-adept should utter the Mantra 108 times, then withdraw the Liṅga, and make it into a pellet. The best of Siddhahins should always offer [this] when he performs the repetition of the Mantras and the act of worship'; f. 10v5: *gomāṃsam guggulam caiva piṇḍikāṃ laṣunam tathā* || 3.210 *siddhyartham guḍikā hy eta homayen nityakarmṇi* | *maṇḍale tarpanam kṛtvā gomāṃsasurayānritam* 'Cow-flesh, bdellium, oil-cake, and garlic: he should offer this [mixture as a] pellet into the consecrated fire in his daily ritual'; f. 141v2 (28.98cd): *gomāṃsam surayā mītram homayitā vīraṇaḥ* 'The adept should offer into the fire cow-flesh mixed with wine'; f. 39v3 (5.40ab): *sampāḍe śthāpāyitvā tu mātṛahomaṃ tu kārayet* 'He should place urine in a bowl and offer it into the fire'.

*tantrārthavātārasaṃgraha*, referring to the Yogatantras as the Tantras of Method (Upāyatantras) and to the Yoginitantras as the Tantras of Wisdom (Prajñatantras).<sup>545</sup>

A Method Tantra is one in which the Maṇḍala shows mainly male deities in order to train (*cini-*) men and insiders (*stayāthya-*), whereas a Wisdom Tantra is one in which, in order to train women and non-Buddhist outsiders (*bāhyatīrthika-*), the Maṇḍala shows mainly female deities, deities, that is, who are appropriate for these.<sup>546</sup> A Method Tantra is one that exhibits deities that purify the outer and inner aggregates of personality (*skandāḥ*), the elements (*dhātavaḥ*), and the faculties and their objects (*āyatanāni*), whereas a Wisdom Tantra is one that exhibits deities that purify the outer and inner channels of the vital energy (*nadī*) and the Bodhicitta [semen]. A Method Tantra is one that exhibits deities [whose appearance and conduct are] in conformity with the [norms of] the world, whereas a Wisdom Tantra is one that exhibits deities [whose appearance is] contrary to [these norms of] the world.

Since Śraddhākaravarman states here that the predominance of female deities is designed to recruit non-Buddhists he can mean only the followers of Śākta Śaivism, since there is no other known group to whom this feature would have been particularly appealing. As for the other features that he identifies as distinctive of the Yoginitantras, he does not state explicitly that they were introduced with the same purpose in mind; but it seems to me probable that he means this to be understood, since the transgressive character of these deities, his third distinctive feature, is indeed a fundamental characteristic of the goddesses worshipped by these outsiders.

The Buddhism sponsored by the Pālas had come a long way: too far, in fact, for those conservative Buddhist monks at Vajrāsana who adhered to the ancient

<sup>545</sup> rNal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud kyi don la 'jugs pa bsdus pa, ff. 103v7-104r3: *gang du skyes pa dang rang gi sde pa 'dul ba'i phyir lha po'i nram pa mang par ston pa'i dhyil 'khor ni thabs kyi rgyud do* | *gang du bud med dang phyil rol mu stegs can 'dul ba'i phyir de dag dang rjes su mthun pa'i lha mo'i nram pa mang pa'i dhyil 'khor ston pa ni shes rab kyi rgyud do* | *gang du phyi nang gi phung po dang kham dang skye mched kyi nram par dag pa'i lha ston pa ni thabs kyi rgyud do* | *gang du phyi nang gi rtsa dang byang chub kyi sems nram par dag pa'i lha ston pa ni shes rab kyi rgyud do* | *gang du 'jig rten dang rjes su mthun pa'i lha'i nram pa ston pa ni thabs kyi rgyud do* | *gang du 'jig rten dang 'gal ba'i lha'i nram pa ston pa ni shes rab kyi rgyud*.

<sup>546</sup> Part of this formulation, namely the doctrine that the Yogatantras are designed to appeal to men and the Yoginitantras to women, has scriptural status, being found in the mKha' 'gro ma'i dra ba'i rdo rje gur rgyud (Dākinīvajrapañjaratantra), f. 104v5-6: *skyes bu nrams ni gdul ba'i phyir* | *mal 'byor rgyud ni yang dag bshad* | *btson mo nrams ni bsdus ba'i phyir* | *rnal 'byor na yi rgyud bshad do* 'The Yogatantras were taught in order to train ("rinyana") men. The Yoginitantras were taught in order to recruit ("sāṃgrahāya") women'.



Buddhism of the Śrāvakayāna. For according to the testimony of Tāranātha they broke up the silver image of Heruka in the temple and burnt the collection of Tantras housed there, saying that these were the teachings not of the Buddha but of Māra, the evil obstructor of the Buddha's enlightenment.<sup>547</sup>

THE REFLEX OF BUDDHIST ŚĀKTISM INTO THE ŚĀKTISM OF BENGAL. Indeed, Buddhism had assimilated the Śākta Śaiva style of religion so thoroughly that some of its creations went on to be adopted into the later Śākta Śaivism of eastern India with little or no revision. This is the case with the goddesses Chinamastā and Ugratārā. The Buddhist origin of Chinamastā is certain, since her Śākta Mantra is ŚRĪM HRĪM KLĪM AIṂ VAJRAVairocāṇīye HŪM HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ, and the two companions that flank her are Dākīnī and Varjini.<sup>548</sup> In the Buddhist prototype the flanking goddesses are Vajravārjani and Vajravairocāṇī, and the Mantra for recitation (*jāpamantraḥ*) is OM SARVABUDDHADĀKINĪYE OM OM VAJRAVARJANĪYE OM VAJRAVairocāṇīye HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAṬ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.<sup>549</sup> Moreover, the procedure of her visualization retains features distinctive of her Buddhist Sādhana, notably that one is to visualize the goddess standing on a red sun-disk marked with a Yoni triangle on a white lotus in one's navel.<sup>550</sup> The only differences here are that in the Buddhist Sādhana the triangle

<sup>547</sup> *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, p. 168, ll. 14–: *he ru ka'i sku ngul las byas pa chen po zhiḡ dang | engags kyi glegs bam mang dag cig yod pa si nga gling pa sogs nyan thos se ndha pa 'ga' zhiḡ gis 'di dag ni bdud kyi byas pa'o zhes byas nas | glegs bam rmas kyi bud shing byas | sku gzugs de yang dum bur bgos nas rnyed pa byas so* 'There was a great silver statue of Heruka and many manuscripts of [texts of the] Mantra[naya]. Som. Saindhava Śrāvaka from such [regions] as Sri Lanka, saying that these manuscripts had been created by Māra, used them as fuel, and, moreover, after dividing up the image into pieces pocketed them'; *HBI*, p. 279.

<sup>548</sup> *Śāktapramoda*, p. 222 (her Mantra); pp. 221, 224–225 (the visualization of Chinamastā, Dākīnī and Varjini)

<sup>549</sup> *Abhisamayamajjarī*, pp. 151–152.

<sup>550</sup> *Śāktapramoda*, pp. 224–225, *Puraścaryāraṇa*, p. 816, *Karmahāṇḍa*, vol. 4, p. 239d–240a (in the Kashmirian Śāktaśāstradhā): *svanābhau nīrajam dhyaṇec chuddham vikasitam sitam | tatpadmakosamadhaye tu maṇḍalam caṇḍa-rociṣaḥ | japākusumasamkāsam raktabandhākasam nibham | rajāḥsatvatalamokrekḥāyonimaṇḍalam aṇḍitam | madhye tasya mahādevīm sūryakoṭisamaprabhām | chinnamastām kare vāme dhārayantiṁ svamastakam | prasāritamukhīm bhīṣmāṁ lelihanāgrajihvikām | pibantiṁ raudhirīm dhārām nīkanthāvinirgatām | vikīrṇakēśopāśām ca nānāpūṣpasamanvītām | dakṣiṇe ca kare kartrīm mūḍamāḍalūvibhūṣitām | digambarām mahāghorām pratyāldhapaḍe śthitām | aśṭimalādhārām devīm nāgāyāñjopavitāṇīm | ratikāmapariṣṭhām ca sadā dhyāyantiṁ mantriṇaḥ* 'He should visualize a pure, open, white lotus in his navel, the disc of the sun in the centre of the seed-pod of that lotus with the colour of the Japā flower, resembling the red Bandhūka blossom, adorned by a Yoni triangle with [three] lines, red, white, and black representing the Guṇas [Rajas, Sattva, and Tamas]. At its centre Mantra adepts always visualize the Great Goddess Chin-

has the strictly Buddhist name *dharmodayā* and that the goddess is visualized as a transformation out of a yellow HRĪṬ visualized in that triangle.<sup>551</sup>

In the case of Tārā the Buddhist origin is even more apparent, since here the dependence extends to textual borrowing. For the Śākta literature of the worship of this goddess has incorporated the *Mahācinakramatārāsādhana* of the Buddhist Śāśvatavajra, which appears almost in its entirety in the eleventh chapter of the Śākta *Phetkārīṇtantra*.

I am unable to determine within narrow limits how long after Śāśvatavajra this Tantra was composed.<sup>552</sup> The earliest mention of the text in sources known to me is in 2.15 of the *Sarvollāsalantra* of Sarvānandanātha, in a list of a canon of sixty-four Tantras cited from the *Tōḍalantra* but not appearing in the published text of that work. It is probable that Sarvānandanātha, who wrote his work in Senhati in what is now Bangladesh, was born around the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>553</sup> It is tempting to assume that the *Phetkārīṇī* was written at a time closer to Śāśvatavajra's than to Sarvānandanātha's, that is to

namastā shining like ten million suns, holding her own [severed] head in her left hand, fearsome, with the mouth [of her severed head] open wide, with the tip of her tongue licking greedily, drinking the stream of blood that gushes from her neck, her hair loosened, adorned with various flowers, holding a chopping-knife in her right hand, adorned with a garland of heads, naked, most terrible, standing in the Pratyālīḍha posture, with a necklace of bones and a snake as her sacred thread, standing on Kāma and Ratī'.

<sup>551</sup> *Abhisamayamajjarī*, p. 151: *svanābhīstasuklakamalasūryasthitasindūraruṇa-dharmodayāmadhye pīṭhīrṭhīkārājā svayam eva kartiṣcasamastakam vāmahastasthīlam dhārayanti* ... 'Arising by transformation of a yellow syllable HRĪṬ in the centre of a vermilion-red Dharmodayā triangle upon a sun[disc] on a white lotus in his navel, holding her own head, which she herself has severed, in her hand ...'.

<sup>552</sup> The take-over of Śāśvatavajra's *Sādhana* of Ugratārā (= *Sādhanaṁalā* 101) by the *Phetkārīṇtantra* and its subsequent influence have been demonstrated by BÜHNEMANN (1996). Śāśvatavajra flourished around the last decades the tenth century and the first decades of the eleventh. His *Bāhyopāyāvidhi* (= *Sādhanaṁalā* 252), *Hastapāyāvidhi* (= *Sādhanaṁalā* 253), and *Cakrasaṁvaraśālisthī* are found in the series of ritual texts published in FINOT 1934 from a manuscript brought to China in 1057 by the Dhyāna master Baocang on his return from India. His *Sādhana* of Ugratārā is found in the \**Sādhanaśataka* (a facsimile of an undated Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript from Tibet has been published in BÜHNEMANN 1994 = Tōh. 3306 f. 1) and was translated into Tibetan by the Indian Faṇḍita \*Amegha-vajra and the Tibetan monk Bari Rin chen grub of Khams (Tōh. 3373; DT, Rgyud, Mu, f. 49v), colophon: *rgya nag po'i rim pa'i sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs slob don rtag pa'i rdo rjes mdzad brjogs so | pa nḡi ta don yod rdo rje dang khams pa lo tsā ba dge slong ba ris bgyur cing zhus so*. The latter was born in 1040 (*Blue Annals*, pp. 73 and 405) and was appointed to the chair of Sa skya in 1103 (*Blue Annals*, p. 211). A Sanskrit manuscript of his most important work, his commentary on the *Laghūsaṁvara*, translated by Bu ston Rin chen grub (Tōh. 1410), survives in the Potlā Palace in Lhasa, where it awaits study.

<sup>553</sup> SANDERSON 2007b, p. 236, fn. 89.



say, when the Buddhist Mantranaya was still at its height in eastern India, before the destruction of the great monasteries around 1200. But this destruction did not eliminate Tantric Buddhism and its literature from the region at a single stroke. For it was still alive in the early fifteenth century, when Vanaratna (1384–1468) travelled to Tibet in 1426, 1433, and 1453, gave various Tantric initiations, notably in the *Kālacakra* according to the system of Anupamarakṣita, and assisted in the translation of Tantric texts, as is attested in the biography of this extraordinary figure given by Gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481),<sup>554</sup> who collaborated with him in a translation of the *\*Trayodasātmakaśrīcakraṣaṅgavarāṇḍalavidhi* (Toh. 1489). We also have the *Vanaratnastotrastaptaka*, a Sanskrit hymn in praise of Vanaratna composed during his lifetime by a devout lay Buddhist Āditya, whom both the Sanskrit and Tibetan colophons say was a native of Magadha;<sup>555</sup> and we have a manuscript of the Mahāyāna classic *Bodhicaryāvatāra* copied by a lay Buddhist in Bengali characters at Veṇugrāma in 1436.<sup>556</sup>

After her incorporation from the Mantranaya Tārā became with Dakṣiṇakālī and Tripurasundarī one of the three principal deities in the east-Indian Śākta system of the ten Mahāvidyās, which soon became widely disseminated throughout the subcontinent. Thus in a passage cited from the scripture *Jñānavipā* in the *Sarvavallāsatānta* (3.1–29) the ten Mahāvidyās are said to be [Dakṣiṇ]kālī (Śyāmā), Tārā, and Tripurasundarī (Śoḍaśī), with the third dividing into eight: herself and the seven others that make up the total of ten, namely Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātangi, and Kamalā. The centrality of these three goddesses is reflected in the corpus of east-Indian Śākta scriptures. The *Togalatantra* teaches the rites of these three alone, and the *Bhāvanātānta* follows the same model but adds Kāmākhya, the great goddess of Assam. Their centrality is also evident among the Paippalādin Atharvavedins of Orissa; for when they absorbed the influence of the Śāktism of Bengal in the latest stratum of their diverse *Āngirasaḥkalpa* corpus it was principally the rites of Dakṣiṇakālī and Tārā that they adopted.<sup>557</sup>

The importance of Tārā in late east-Indian Śāktism is independently

confirmed by the existence of substantial texts devoted exclusively to her worship, notably the *Tārārahasyaṣaṅgī* of Gauḍīya Śāṅkara composed in 1630, the *Tārābhaktisudhāraṇa*, a work in some 11,000 verses composed by Nṛsiṃha Thakkura c. 1688, the *Tārābhaktitarāṅgi* of Kāśinātha, composed in 1682 at the request of Kṛṣṇacandra, Mahārāja of Nadia in West Bengal, and two other works with the same title, one by Vimalānandanātha and the other by Prakāśānandanātha.

#### THE JAINS' ADAPTATION OF THE ŚAIVA MANTRAŚĀSTRA

Jainism too enjoyed royal support during this period, notably in western India under the Caulukyans and in Kāṇṭhaka among the Gaṅgas of Tālakāḍ, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Hoysalas;<sup>558</sup> and it too developed a Tantric ritual culture along Śaiva lines for the propitiation (*ārādhana*) of Mantra-goddesses for mundane benefits using Mudrās, Japa, and offerings into fire (*homāḥ*). Among goddesses worshipped in Jain rites for such purposes are Lakṣmī and Vāgīśvarī (Sarasvatī) belonging to the higher world, the Vidyādevīs belonging to the middle,<sup>559</sup> and, most important, in the lower world the Yakṣī attendants of the Tirthaṅkaras, associated with major Jain pilgrimage sites, notably Ambikā (Kūṣmāṇḍinī), the attendant of Neminātha at Girnār, Cakreśvarī, the attendant of Rṣabha at Śatruṅjaya, Padmāvatī, the attendant of Pārśvanātha at Śravaṇa Belgola, and Jvālāmālīnī, the attendant of Candraprabha.<sup>560</sup>

That these deities were developed on the basis of the Śaiva tradition is more transparently obvious here than in Buddhism. Thus the *Bhairava-padmāvatikalpa*, the Digambara Malliṣeṇa's Paddhati on the propitiation of Padmāvatī, written in 1057 equates her with Tatalā, Tvaritā, Nityā, Tripurā, and Tripurabhairavī, all well-known Mantra-goddesses of the Śākta Śaivas.<sup>561</sup>

<sup>554</sup> See STEIN 1998, especially pp. 147–152.

<sup>555</sup> In the classical listing these are the following eighteen: Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajrasrīkhalā, Vajrāṅkuṣā, Apraticakrā, Puruṣadattā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Sarvāstramahājvalā, Mānavī, Vairoṭyā, Acchuptā, Mānasī, and Mahāmānasī.

<sup>556</sup> For images of Ambikā, Cakreśvarī, Padmāvatī, and Jvālāmālīnī see, e.g., *AIISPL*, Accession numbers 45246, 10029, 58659, and 19995. On the cult of Padmāvatī see JHAVERI 1944. On the cult of Jvālāmālīnī see SETTAR 1969.

<sup>561</sup> On the worship of goddesses in Jainism and their division between the three worlds (*ārādhakāḥ*, *tiryaklokaḥ*, and *adhaklokaḥ*) see CONT 1987. On the centrality of the culture of Mantras and Mantrasiddhas in medieval Jainism see the survey and analysis by Paul DUNDAS (1998), who writes there of "the Jain *mantraśāstra*'s partial linkage to an ultimately Śaiva-inspired style of religiosity" (p. 36), of the *Jñānārāṇa* of the Digambara Śubhacandra, probably in the tenth century, that it "blends much of the 'software' of Śaiva *mantraśāstra* with specifically Jainia so-

<sup>554</sup> *Blue Annals*, pp. 797–805. On the career of Vanaratna see ERHAED 2004.

<sup>555</sup> HAIN 1996, p. 37: *saṁskṛtāṁ idam [vana]ratnastotrastaptakam | kṛtīr magadha-deśyādityānām iti*; p. 40: *dpāl lān bla ma nags kyī rin chen betod pa bdun pa tū ni rdzogs so | yul ma ga dhā nas byang ba'i bnyen dam pa ngyi ma pa zhes bya bas rtsod pa'o* ('*saṁskṛtāṁ idam [vana]ratnastotrastaptakam | kṛtīr magadha-deśyāpāramarśasādityānām*).

<sup>556</sup> SHASTRI 1917, p. 21: ASB MS 8067. The scribe identifies himself as Sadbaudha-karanādīyasthāthakkura Amitābha.

<sup>557</sup> SANDERSON 2007b, pp. 235–236, fn. 68.



Unlike Śaivism, Pañcarātra, and Tantric Buddhism in its mature form, Jaina Tantrism did not claim to offer Jains a new path to liberation. It remained entirely focused on mundane benefits. Nonetheless it was not the preserve of the laity. Monks produced the manuals and monks were held to perform these propitiations. Thus Yaśobhadrasūri and other Mantra-adepts (*mātrikāḥ*) use the power that they have obtained by propitiating the goddess Kurukullā to unblock the throat of Devācārya when on the sixteenth day of a debate in the court of the Caulukya Siddharāja between him and the Digambara Kumudacandra the latter had used his supernatural power to silence him by causing him to choke;<sup>562</sup> the Jaina Guru of king Ajayapāla undertakes a two-month propitiation of Ambikā on the Raivataka mountain at Gīrnār in order to gain for himself the boon of equality with the renowned Śvetāmbara Hemacandra and for his patron that of equality with Kumārāpāla, the great Caulukya king of Gujarat.<sup>563</sup> Hemacandra, Devendrasūri, and Malayagirisūri go to the same mountain at night to undertake the propitiation of the Siddhacakra-mantra, after first performing preliminary rites to summon the presiding goddess Ambikā into their presence;<sup>564</sup> and Hemacandra propitiates the spell-goddess Tribhuvanasvāminī in Aṇahillapattana, the Caulukya capital, in order to ask her about the previous birth of his pupil Kumārāpāla.<sup>565</sup>

As in the non-Jaina tradition the goddesses were put to work to serve the interests of rulers. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅgacārya, written at Vardhamāna (Vāḍhvān) in eastern Kāthiāwāḍ in 1304, claims that Padmāvatī was propitiated by means of a fire-sacrifice by a Digambara monk in order to protect Vārāṇasī, the capital of king Jayacandra (in the late twelfth century), from attack by a Muslim army;<sup>566</sup> bards in Kārṇāṭaka at the court of Yaśodhara

are said to have invoked Aparājītā to secure the king victory in battle;<sup>567</sup> and these powers are fully confirmed by the manuals for these rites. According to the unpublished *Jvālāmālīnikā*, composed by the Digambara Indranandin in Kārṇāṭaka in 939, the benefits that can be attained by propitiating Jvālāmālīnī include the splitting open of the gates of enemy forts; and the *Bhairava-padmaṇvāitika* teaches a spell (*vidyā*) for making one's enemies fall asleep and magical receipts both for causing dissension among them (*vidveṣaṇam*) and causing their death (*māraṇam*). Moreover, Padmāvatī was the lineage goddess (*kuḷadevī*) of a number of Jaina ruling houses in Kārṇāṭaka<sup>568</sup> and functioned in this capacity much as she would have done if they had not been converted. Thus she appears in a local manifestation as the Padmāvatī of Śaśakapūra (Sosaṅvūri) in a Jaina myth of the origin of the name of the Hoysaḷa (*Poysaḷa*) dynasty related in an inscription of 1133.<sup>569</sup> When a Jaina ascetic Yogin was trying to subjugate this goddess with a Mantra and a tiger sprang out to break its power the ascetic commanded king Saḷa, saying "Strike [it], O Saḷa" (*poṇ saḷa*).<sup>570</sup> The king then worshipped the goddess under the name Vāsantikā. Since this story introduces an account of the conquests of the dynasty it is probable that the goddess is seen here in the manner of the martial lineage goddesses of the Śākta Śaiva type venerated by non-Jaina kings during the early medieval period as the source of their sovereignty and military might.

In one important respect, however, Jaina lineage goddesses were bound to differ from their non-Jaina counterparts. Since Jains are the strictest vegetarians and are rigorously opposed to the harming of any living creature, their goddesses, like those of the Buddhists, had to renounce the animal sacrifices that were so conspicuous a part of their cult in non-Jaina lineages.<sup>571</sup> Thus the Ośvā

teriological concerns" (p. 35), and of the *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa* that it "contains an account of the well-known six magical arts (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*), not greatly dissimilar from their Hindu equivalents" (p. 33).

<sup>562</sup> Merutuṅga, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 169: *śoḍaśe dine ākasmike devācāryasya kaṇṭhāvagrahe mātrikāḥ śrīyaśobhadrasūribhir atulyakurukullādeviprasādalah-dhavarais tatkaṇṭhaphatāḥ kṣapāt kṣapaṇakakṛtākārmāṇanubhāvāt keśakaṇḍukaḥ pātayām cakre*.

<sup>563</sup> Kumārāpāladēvoprabandha §54: *cintitaṃ devatārādhanaṃ vinā manorathānāṃ siddhir na | ato raivatake gatvā devīm ambāṃ paritoṣya hemācāryasamo bhaviṣyāmi | upauśatrayaṃ tad anu talahaṭṭīkāyāṃ pāraṇam | ekaḥ paricaryākaraḥ | evaṃ māsā 2 taphaprānte devy ambā pratyakṣā jātā kārṇyaṃ vada | tenoktaṃ yādṛśaḥ kumārāpāladēvas tādrśam ajayapāladēvaṃ yādṛśaḥ hemācāryas tādrśaṃ mām vidhehiti*.

<sup>564</sup> Kumārāpālaprabodhaprabandha §61. On the worship of the Siddhacakra see JHAVERY 1944, pp. 167–169.

<sup>565</sup> Kumārāpāladēvoprabandha §21.

<sup>566</sup> Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 294–295.

<sup>567</sup> CORT 1987, p. 248.

<sup>568</sup> Notably the Śilāhāras, Rāṭṭas, and Śāntaras; see CORT 1987, p. 243.

<sup>569</sup> EC 5:124.

<sup>570</sup> Cf. EI 6:10, l. 6: *sa hoy saleti prāpat tam kila vinihatya hoysalākhyam*.

<sup>571</sup> In the Buddhist case, however, animal sacrifice, though unusual, does occur. We see it in the *mahābali* sacrifice performed by the Buddhist Nēwars at Lagaṅkheḷ on the occasion of the chariot festival of Bugmalokeśvara (Karupāmaya); see SINCLAIR 2008. Nor is this a recent innovation. See *Catuspīṭhantra* II. 30r2–32r3. The Mantra for the Bali there (f. 31v2–) is derived from a Śaiva prototype seen in the *Vidyāpīṭha's Nīṣaṃcāra* (14.56–63; II. 47v5–48v2: *ekavṛṇṇe āmaśane vā ...*). My pupil Péter-Dániel Szántó has kindly informed me (personal communication, 4 March, 2009) that the verses that immediately precede that Mantra in this manuscript, containing the reference to sanguinary offerings, are not part of the original *Catuspīṭha* but have been added from the *Catuspīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā* of Caryāvṛttipāda (19.30–33 [f. 20r]). On that work, its author, and the incorporation of material from it in this MS of the *Catuspīṭha* see SZÁNTÓ 2008a. He has also drawn my attention to references to sanguinary offerings elsewhere in the *Catuspīṭha* itself, in the *Sādhana* of Dākinī (2.4.63–66) and in that of Cūṣiṇī (2.4.75),



Jainas of Rajasthan and Saurashtra hold that their lineage deity Saccikā or Sacciyā adopted her present non-violence only when she and they were converted to Jainism by the monk Ratnaprabhasūri, probably in the twelfth century.<sup>572</sup> in consequence of his having miraculously cured a boy of snake-bite when he had already been thought dead and prepared for cremation. They claim that before their conversion they had been Rajput warriors—a claim also found among other Jain castes—<sup>573</sup> and she a fierce Cāmūṇḍā whom they propitiated with the Tantric rites of the Vāmamārga. Her pre-Jaina past is still visible in her temple at Osān near Jodhpur, the Osval's original home. For the outer wall of her innermost shrine shows images of Cāmūṇḍā, Mahiṣāsūramardini, Sītālā, and a naked Bhairava.<sup>574</sup>

We have another story of the conversion of a lineage goddess in Jain accounts of the life of the Caulukya king Kumārāpāla of Gujarat (r. 1143–1174), who converted from Śaivism to Jainism under the influence of the illustrious Śvetāmbara scholar monk Hemacandra. According to these accounts Kaṇṭheśvarī, the lineage goddess of the Caulukyās, and the other goddesses associated with her had always been placated during the nine days of the annual

and to a reference to the attracting of animal and human victims (*paśu*) at the end of the ninth chapter of the *Vajrapāśaka*. That passage is derived from *Laghūkaṇṭhā* 32.1–2 and 31.2–3b. See also here p. 182, on human sacrifice.

<sup>572</sup> See DUNDAS 2002, p. 149.

<sup>573</sup> On the claims of Rajput *kṣatriya* ancestry among the Jain castes of the Osval, Kāṇḍiā, Agravāla, and Śrīmālā see BABB 1993, pp. 7–8.

<sup>574</sup> AGRAWALA 1954 and 1956; COIT 1987, pp. 243–244; and BABB 1993, pp. 9–10, following accounts in BHŪJORIYA 1988. For photographs of the Cāmūṇḍā and Mahiṣāsūramardini see *AIISPL*, Accession numbers 59386 and 59388. An account of the conversion of Saccikā is found in a chronicle, the *Upakalpaśāstrapāṭya*, of the monastic community followed by the Osval laity, which ends with the installation of Siddhasūri in (Vikrama) 1655. See pp. 237–238 of the translation by HOENLE (1890), who does not provide the original, for which see AGRAWALA 1954. Ratnaprabhasūri describes Saccikā in that account as follows (HOENLE's translation, p. 237), addressing her former devotees: 'O ye faithful, ye should not go to the temple of Saccikā-devī; she is merciless, and incessantly delights in hearing the sound of the breaking of bones and the killing of buffaloes, goats, and other animals; the floor of her temple is stained with blood, and it is hung about with festoons of fresh skins; the teachers of her devotion, rites, and service, are cruel men; she is altogether disgusting and horrible'. The text continues: 'Hearing these words of the Āchārya, they replied, — "What you say, O Lord, is quite true; but if we do not go to worship that cruel Devī, she will slay us and our families." The Āchārya, however, promised to protect them; whereupon they ceased to go any longer to the temple of the Devī'. Ratnaprabhasūri then goes on to convert the goddess, a tradition also asserted in an inscription of 1598 (COIT 1987, p. 244). Thereafter, it is said, she would accept no sanguinary offerings and not even red flowers, because they resemble such offerings.

Navarātra festival by the sacrifice of thousands of goats and buffaloes.<sup>575</sup> But this stops when Kumārāpāla, now a convert to Jainism, declares a fourteen-year ban on the taking of life. Kaṇṭheśvarī appears before the king and demands to know why she and the other goddesses have been denied their usual sacrifices. When he explains that he cannot sacrifice to her now that he is a Jaina she is enraged and strikes him on the head with her trident, causing leprous sores to break out on his body. Hemacandra miraculously cures his affliction, tries to persuade the goddess to accept in future offerings of vegetarian food of equal value, and when this fails binds her with a Mantra. Thoroughly humbled, she begs the king to free her, promising that if she is released she will give up her ways and work instead to police his ban on the slaughter of animals throughout his realm. With Hemacandra's permission he releases her and she takes to her new role as the king's informer with all the zeal of the convert.<sup>576</sup> She reports a vassal king in Saurashtra for secretly butchering goats in his home: Kumārāpāla sends his minister Udayana at the head of an army to punish him.<sup>577</sup> She reports a merchant for plucking a louse from his wife's head and crushing it; his entire property is seized and the money used to fund the building of a Jaina monastery, named accordingly the Monastery of the Louse (Yūkāvihāra).<sup>578</sup>

<sup>575</sup> Three thousand seven hundred goats and thirty-seven buffaloes were to be sacrificed: a hundred goats and one buffalo on the first day, two hundred goats and two buffaloes on the second, three hundred goats and three buffaloes on the third, and so on, so that nine hundred goats and nine buffaloes were sacrificed on the ninth (Mahānavamī). See Somatilakāsūri, *Kumārāpāladēvacarita* vv. 387–389: *śuddhasamyaṅkṛtāpūtātā mahānācamīparvāni | kumārāpālabhūpālā gaurādhībhīr ākhyata || 388 devī \*kaṇṭheśvarī (corr.: kaṇṭheśvarī Ed.) gotadevī svam bhāviyam thate | ekaṁ chāgasatām caiko mahiṣaḥ pratipaddine || 389 etāvad eva driguṇaṁ devītye divase punaḥ | trītye triguṇaṁ yācān navame \*nācasamguṇam (corr.: nava samguṇam Ed.); and Kumārāpālaprabodhāprabandha §75: *āḥmāraṁ pravartayati rājāni āśvinasūklapakṣo 'gāt | tatra \*kaṇṭheśvarīdevīdevatānām (kaṇṭheśvarīdevī corr.: kaṇṭheśvarīdevī Ed.) arcabair vijñaptam deḥa sapṭamyaṁ sapta śatāni paśavaḥ sapta mahiṣā ca devatānām puro dīyante rājāni | evam aṣṭamyaṁ aṣṭau śatāni navamyaṁ nava śatāni*. In the editions of the *Kumārāpāladēvacarita* and the *Kumārāpālaprabodhāprabandha* the goddess' name appears in the form Kaṇṭheśvarī. I have corrected this to Kaṇṭheśvarī on the dubious strength of a passage in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Meruṅga in which the author implies that she owes her name to the fact that in the eighth century Vanarāja, the founder of the Cāpotaḥṇa dynasty that preceded the Caulukyās at Anahillapattana, had a shrine built for her in the *kaṇṭhaḥ* ('narrow entrance') of his palace (p. 35: *tathā ca tena dhavalagrhaṇṭhe kaṇṭheśvarīprāsādā ca kārtaḥ*).*

<sup>576</sup> *Kumārāpāladēvacarita*, vv. 387–396 and *Kumārāpālaprabodhāprabandha* §75.

<sup>577</sup> *Kumārāpālaprabodhāprabandha* §85.

<sup>578</sup> *Kumārāpāladēvacarita*, vv. 404–406; cf. *Kumārāpālaprabodhāprabandha* §77. The same sources relate another occasion on which the Jaina Mantravāda was used to curb a sanguinary goddess. Hemacandra and Yaśaścandra fly through the



Thus, while drawing heavily on the Śākta Śaiva tradition of the propitiation of Mantra-goddesses, the Jain Mantravāda, was bound to keep itself free of the sanguinary aspects of those cults and, also, one would assume, of all other transgressive elements that would conflict with the ascetic character of the Jaina path, notably the use of flesh and alcohol, and the employment of female consorts. However, that exclusion was not as complete as one would expect in respect of the last of these elements. This is apparent in the accounts of two of the propitiations mentioned above. We are told that when Hemacandra, Devendrasūri, and Malayagirisūri undertook the propitiation of the Siddhacakra-mantra on the Raivataka mountain they did so with a Padminī in the person of the wife of a village headman as their Tantric assistant (*uttarasādhakatvena*).<sup>579</sup> How the wife of the village headman assisted in the propitiation is not stated. But the story of Hemacandra's propitiation of Tribhuvanavāminī is more explicit. Again he has the assistance of a Padminī. The daughter-in-law of a farmer is brought to the city for this purpose and the goddess shows her favour after Hemacandra has

air from Anahillapattana to Bhṛgupura (Bhṛgukaccha, Bharukaccha, modern Bharuch/Broach) and attempt to tame the Tantric goddess Saindhavī, who had possessed the minister Āmbudā. She shows her contempt for Hemacandra by sticking out her tongue. Yaśāscandra punishes her by pounding some grains of rice in a mortar. The first blow causes her temple to quake, and the second and third cause her image to shudder and then be dislodged. She falls at Hemacandra's feet begging for his protection. See Somatilakasūri's *Kumārāpāladevacarita*, vv. 76–85 and *Kumārāpālārabodhaprabandha* §87. Saindhavī is no doubt the Sindhavī Mā whose temple is located outside the walls of Broach to the north, not far from the temple of Nilakanṭha. She was receiving goat sacrifices on Mahānavamī up to the 1940s (DESAI 1993, p. 48). According to Somatilakasūri, she was the principal of the non-Jaina deities of the city. Sindhavī Mā also has temples in Ahmedabad, near Bilimora, and Kayavarohana, Vadodara.

<sup>579</sup> *Kumārāpālārabodhaprabandha* §61: *te ca trayāḥ kṛtapūrvakṛtyāḥ śrī-ambikā-kṛtasānnidhyāḥ śubhadhyānadhīradhīyāḥ śrīraivatādevatādr̥ṣṭau triyāminyām āhvānāvogunṭhanamudrākaraṇamantranāyāsavarjanāndibhir upacārair gurūktāim dhīnā samīpsthāpadminīstrīkṛttatrasādhakakṛtyāḥ śrīśiddhacakra-mantram 'a-sādhayan (om.:asādhayat Ed.)*. 'And those three, after performing the preliminary service (*pūrvasevā*) and bringing about the presence of Ambikā, with their mind firmly concentrated in the 'pure' mode of meditation, in the sight of the goddess of the Raivataka mountain, performed at night the Sādhana of the Siddhacakra-mantra following the procedure taught by the Guru, with all the [required] rites of summoning, enclosing, making the Mudrās, installing the Mantras [on their bodies], dismissing and the rest, with the actions of the Tantric assistant performed by that Padminī beside them'. According to the erotological literature Padminīs are one of four classes of ideal love-partner (*nāyikā*); see, e.g., *Pañcasāyākamahārjari* 1.6: *sampūrpēndumukht kurāṅganayanā pīnastanī dākṣiṇā mṛdvaṅt vikāravindasurabhīḥ śyāmātha gauradyutiḥ | alpāhāraratā vilāsakulā haṁsasvanā sadgatir lajjalūr gurudevopajñanaparā svān nāyikā padminī*; and in Tantric literature *Hevajratanta* 2.7.2–5 and *Samvarodayatantra* 31.3–5b.

repeated the Mantra for three days on the Padminī's vulva (*tasya yonau*).<sup>580</sup> The text tells us that Hemacandra's mind remained undisturbed during this practice, no doubt wishing to stress that he was not compromising the monastic rule of celibacy. Indeed there is no evidence of which I am aware that the Jaina Mantravāda, unlike Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism in its later phases, created two levels of discipline, one for ordinary practitioners and one for an élite that transcended the rules that apply to the first. Nonetheless, we see from this story that it had gone surprisingly far in this direction, too far for some, one suspects, who would have preferred monks to avoid any practice in which they could be suspected of departing from the straight and narrow Jain path of purification.

### ŚAIVISM IN THE BRAHMANICAL SUBSTRATE

As for the long-established brahmanical tradition, the Śaivas saw it as subsumed within their own, accepting it as the only valid source of authority in what they saw as the lesser domain of mundane religion (*laukiko dharmah*). This perception is much emphasised in their literature,<sup>581</sup> and it is expressed through the

<sup>580</sup> *Kumārāpālādevaprabandha* §21: *atha śrīhemacāryais tribhuvanavāminīm vidyām ārdhayitukāmā bhāṇḍāgarīkaṁ kapardinam prāhur yan mehatāgrāme trihupasiṁhaḥ kauṭumbikāḥ | tasya putrāś catvāraḥ | laghor vadhūḥ padminī | yadi śayāti tada 'tasya auṣyapradeśe (corr.: tasyāuṣyapradeśe Ed.) dinatrayaṁ jāpe dattē devī prasīdati | etad atidūṣkaram | kapardinoktam | cintā na vidheyā | bhāṇḍāgarīkas tātra gataḥ kauṭumbikagrhe | tena satkṛtāḥ | prayojanam pṛṣṭāḥ | bhāṇḍāgarīkenoktam laghuputradadhūm mamārpayā | tenoktam kim idam ādīśasi | evam eva | vicāro 'pi na kartavyaḥ | tenoktam yadi bhavātām 'vicāre samāyātām idam (?) tadvaiyam astu | sukhāśane 'dhīropya pottane samāgataḥ | śrīhemasūribhiḥ paramānnāhāraparair auṣkṛticittais tasyā yonau dinatrayaṁ jāpeḥ kṛtāḥ | devī tuṣṭā* Then Hemacārya, desiring to propitiate the spell-deity Tribhuvanavāminī said to his treasurer Kapardin: 'There is a farmer called Trihupasiṁha in Mehatā village. He has four sons. The wife of the youngest is a Padminī. If she comes here and I offer Japa for three days on her unmentionable part the goddess will favour me. This is extremely difficult [to accomplish]'. Kapardin told him not to worry. So the treasurer went to the home of the farmer in that [village] and after being honoured was asked his purpose. The treasurer said: 'Give me the wife of your youngest son'. [The farmer] said: 'Is this an order?'. He replied that it was but that he should not be concerned. [The farmer] said: 'So be it, if this is "what you have decided after due deliberation (?)". So [the treasurer] put her in a comfortable sedan and returned with her to the capital. The venerable Hemasūri did the Mantra-recitation on her vulva for three days, intent on eating paramānnam, with his mind undisturbed [by lust]'. The goddess was pleased'. The food *paramānnam* is, I presume, the dish of rice, milk, and sugar or jaggery otherwise known as *pāyasam* and considered the ideal food for offering to a vegetarian deity.

<sup>581</sup> It is encapsulated in the often cited words of their scripture *Bhārgavottara*: *iti varṇāśramācārān manasūpi na laṅghayet | yo yasminn āśrame tisthan dikṣitāḥ śivāśāne | sa tasminn eva samīptheṣṭhe chivadharmam ca pālayet* 'So he should not transgress the practices of his caste and [brahmanical] discipline even in thought.



collocation of the epithets *paramamāheśvaraḥ* and *paramabrahmanyah* that is sometimes found with the titles of our kings in inscriptions.<sup>582</sup>

But the brahmanical tradition was not merely accepted by the Śaivas. It was also influenced by them. During this period we find an ever-growing corpus of traditions that while claiming to be on the brahmanical side of the divide derive from the Śaiva, both Śaiva devotional literature assigned to the Purāṇas and a form of worship that followed Śaiva models. In Purāṇic texts such as the *Uttarabhāgīya* of the *Līṅgapurāṇa*,<sup>583</sup> the *Kalīhāpurāṇa*, the *Devīpurāṇa*, and the *Agnipurāṇa*,<sup>584</sup> the boundary between the Smārta and Tantric domains has almost completely dissolved, prompting the conservative brahmanical author Ballālasena, the twelfth-century Sena king of Gauḍa, to reject them as invalid as sources of the knowledge of religious duty, objecting particularly to their containing instruction on such matters as Śaiva initiation and idol consecration.<sup>585</sup>

In reality there was no reasonable hope of turning the tide by this period, as had to be conceded even by so conservative an authority as the *Nibandha* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* compiled by or under Aparāditya, the Śilāhāra king of Konkanā in the last quarter of the twelfth century. While firmly denying in general the validity of the practices taught in the Śaiva scriptures, it admits a partial exception in the case of the Śūhāpaka, the priest who consecrates idols and shrines. It is admitted that he may draw on these texts to supplement the

He should remain in the discipline in which he was when he was initiated into the Saiva religion and (at the same time) maintain the ordinances of Śiva; see SANDERSON 1988, p. 662 (c. 1900, p. 159); 1995, p. 23; 2005a, p. 388; 2007a, pp. 221–232. The Śaiva's understanding of how the relation between the general, Vaidika ordinances and those of the Śaiva scriptures should be perceived is explored at length in SANDERSON forthcoming b.

We see this combination in the case of the Paṇḍuvamline Paṇḍavas of Mekhla in the fifth century (SHASTRI 1935, nos. II: I-II), the Śailodbhava Mādhavajaya of Kengoda in the seventh (EI 6:14), the Pallava Paramaveśvarvarman I (c. 669-680), and Narasimhavarman II (c. 690-725) (MAHALINGAM 1988, nos. 45, 53) around the turn of the seventh and eighth, the Bhāṇḍja Neṭṭabhāṇḍja of Orissa in the eighth (EI 28:41, II.16-17), the descendants of King Nimbarka of Kārtīkeyapura in Himachal Pradesh in the ninth and tenth (EI 31:38), and the Eastern Calukyas in the eleventh (EI 6:35; EI 6:36).

<sup>503</sup> On the presence of the Śaiva Mantramārga in its *Saiddhāntika*, *Dakṣiṇa* (Bhairava), and Śākta forms in the *Uttarabhaga* of the *Līṅgapurāṇa* see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 235–236.

<sup>284</sup> On the Agniparāṇa's incorporation of the Sāiddhāntika Śaiva Paddhati of Somaśambhu see p.65 above.

In vv.55-67 of the introduction to his *Dharmasāgara* Balliāśena rejects on these and allied grounds the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, the *Brahmapurāṇa*, the *Āgripurāṇa*, the *Vaṣṭupurāṇa* in twenty-three thousand verses, the *Lingapurāṇa* in six thousand, the *Devīpurāṇa*, and parts of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. That he did not include the *Kālikapurāṇa* in his list strongly suggests that it postdates him.

ritual of consecration when installing a Śiva, and likewise on the other appropriate bodies of non-Vedic scripture when consecrating images of the Goddess and the like, provided that his Vedic procedure needs to be supplemented, provided that the imported auxiliary does not offend the Vedic procedure in any way, and provided that he does not take the initiations (*dikṣā*) which those scriptures require.<sup>586</sup> In other words it had to be conceded that a hybrid of Tantric and Vedic rituals procedures was already an institutional reality; and that this was so is confirmed by a Śaiva source, which protests against their existence, insisting that patrons should engage only initiated Śaiva officiants of full conviction, who would perform Śaiva rituals of consecration uncontaminated by such hybridization.<sup>587</sup>

546 This position is established at length in the course of the commentary to *Yājñiavalkyaśmṛti* 1.7, which lists the valid sources of knowledge of religious duty (*dharmaśulāma*), namely Śruti, Smṛti, and observation of the practice of exemplary brahmins, supplemented by personal judgement and preference where the other sources of knowledge leave scope for them. Aparāditya considers at length and rejects the proposition that the scriptures of the Pāsupatas, Śaivas, Pāncarātrikas, and others not rooted in the Veda (*vedamūla-*) should be added to the list (vol. 1, p. 10, 1.6 ff). He concludes: *tataḥ ca devapūjādau narasiṃhapurāṇādiprasiddhahaitetikartavyā grāhyā nānyā* [*evam dikṣayām api avagantaryā*] *na hi purāṇaprasiddhāyām dikṣayām jñātsiddhanam asti* (vol. 1, p. 14, 1.17–19) ...*etam prasthāyām api purāṇadyuktahaitetikartavyatā grāhyā nānyā teṣām eva yūmīśvaradharmapramāṇatvena bhaviṣyapurāṇe parijñātāt* (p. 15, 1.1–2) And so the procedure for such [rituals] as the worship of deities that may be adopted is that taught in such Purāṇas as the *Narasimha-*, and no other. The same should be understood to apply in the case of initiation. For in the initiation established in the Purāṇas the [objectionable Śaiva] rite of the elimination of [the initiand's] caste is lacking. ...Equally, in the case of rituals for the installation [of the image of a deity and the like only the procedure taught in Purāṇas and [related texts] may be adopted, since the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* acknowledges none but these as sources of valid knowledge of hybrid religious duty'. By 'hybrid' (*yūmīśvara-*) Aparāditya means procedures that incorporate auxiliary elements from the Tantras. The issue of this hybrid installation rituals is taken up in detail on pp. 16, 1.1–19, 1.12.

<sup>567</sup> detail on pp. 16, 1, 1-19, 1, 12. This source is the *Siddhāntika* scripture *Dryāmata*. It devotes several verses to distinguishing types of *Śhāpaka* and to exhorting patrons to avoid all but one, who is described as learned both in the general *Śaiva* scriptures and in the specialized *Tantras* of Installation, as content with the teaching of *Śiva*, focused wholly upon it, strictly adhering to the discipline of the initiated (*samayaśāraṅga*), without any inclination towards the scriptures of the uninitiated (*paśuśāstram*), taking no pleasure in the mundane religion, but delighting in the religion of *Śiva* alone: (2.16cd, 17ab, 19ab, 20ab): *ācāryaḥ śivāśāstraśāṅgaḥ pratishṭhāntatraparagāḥ* || ... 17 *śivāśāstrārthaśamtusṭeṣaḥ samayaśārapālekaḥ* || ... 19ab *śivāśāstraiḥkittatmā paśuśāstraparānṁmukhaḥ* || ... 20 *virakto laukike dharme śivadharmānurañjitaḥ*. *Śhāpaka*s to be avoided are those who are *Vaidika* in their religious commitment and learning. Some of these have no more than a partial knowledge of the *Tantras* of Installation; but they should be avoided even if they mastered both the *Tantras* of Installation and the general *Śaiva* scriptures (2.7-8b and 2.13-14):



Instances of incorporation of Śaiva ritual in the Smārta domain can be adduced from most regions and periods;<sup>588</sup> but perhaps the most striking because it was so widely disseminated and accepted by those who considered themselves to be on the Smārta side of the divide is represented by the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya and the closely related *Śāradātīlaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśika. These two texts, which, I have argued, were composed in Orissa or on the basis of Orissan tradition, most probably in the twelfth century,<sup>589</sup> present a system of ritual that differs from the properly Tantric only in its catholic character—in Smārta fashion it includes rituals of propitiation for all the main deities—, its avoidance of all the elements of 'impure' practice that the Smārtas castigated in the Śaiva cults of Bhairava and the Goddess, and its expurgation of doctrines that were contrary to what could be found in acceptably brahmanical sources, notably the doctrine of the thirty-six levels of reality (*tattvāni*).

### THE CAUSES OF THE DOMINANCE OF ŚAIVISM

Śaivism, then, was undoubtedly the most successful among the religious systems that received royal patronage during the early medieval period. It was the most commonly adopted. Of the others some were absorbed by it and the rest while flourishing independently beside it came to remodel themselves along Śaiva lines.

No doubt there were many factors that led to Śaivism's rise to dominance within this complex environment, and no doubt many of these will remain invisible to us, since they could be discerned and weighed only if we had access to much more detailed evidence of the activities and motivations of individuals and institutions, both religious and political. Nonetheless, I venture a general explanation.

### THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PROCESS

On the basis of the epigraphical record of acts of patronage, and considering evidence of changes over time within the Śaivas' prescriptive literature, I

*pratiṣṭhātāntrakīñcijñāḥ paśuśāstrānurañjitāḥ | tattvopadeśahīnāḥ ca nācārya na ca sādhanakāḥ || 8 tena samsthāpitam liṅgam siddhidam na kadā cana | ... 13 padāvākyapramāṇajño brāhmaṇo vedapāragāḥ | pratiṣṭhātāntrakīñcijñāḥ sthāpako na praśasyate || 2.14 pratiṣṭhātāntratattvājñāḥ śivaśāstravaiśāradāḥ | so 'pi na sthāpakair iṣṭāḥ paśuśāstrānurañjitāḥ.*

<sup>588</sup> One of these, the assimilation of Śākta Śaiva propitiation rites by the Atharvavedic tradition of the Paippalādins of Orissa, has been demonstrated at length in SANDERSON 2007b.

<sup>589</sup> SANDERSON 2007b, pp. 230–233.

propose that the fundamental reason for the religion's success, underlying and structuring the mass of particulars now lost to view, was that it greatly increased its appeal to royal patrons by extending and adapting its repertoire to contain a body of rituals and theory that legitimated, empowered, or promoted key elements of the social, political and economic process that characterizes the early medieval period.

These elements were:

1. the spread of the monarchical model of government through the emergence of numerous new dynasties at subregional, regional, and supraregional levels;
2. the multiplication of land-owning temples, both royal temples in nuclear areas and lesser temples in peripheral zones, often established by subordinate local lords, thus promoting the rural economy and the progressive penetration of the authority of the centre into new territories;
3. the proliferation of new urban centres, both commercial centres that grew from below through a process of agglomeration, and planned settlements, growths from above, founded by rulers;
4. the expansion of the agrarian base through the creation of villages, land reclamation, and the construction of water-reservoirs, wells, and other means of irrigation, with the steady growth in population that these developments imply; and
5. the cultural and religious assimilation of the growing population of communities caught up in this expansion.<sup>590</sup>

At the same time it took steps to integrate itself with the brahmanical sub-

<sup>590</sup> For this positive characterization of the period I am indebted to the work of a number of historians who in recent decades have shown the invalidity of the widespread view that it was a time of decline, de-urbanization, fragmentation, and general impoverishment in the aftermath of a glorious classical age that culminated under the Gupta kings and ended with their demise. I acknowledge in particular the research, conclusions, and hypotheses of Noboru KARASHIMA (1984), R. CHAMPALAKSHMI (1986), Hermann KULKE (1990, 1995a, b), Brajadulal CHATTOPADHYAYA (1994), Upinder SINGH (1994), Burton STEIN (1994, 1998), James HEITZMAN (1995), and Cynthia TALBOT (2001). That judgement, which owes more, one suspects, to the concept of the European Dark Ages after the collapse of the Roman empire than to unbiased analysis of India's epigraphical and archaeological record, has its counterpart in the not uncommon assessment that these centuries also witnessed a progressive degeneration of Sanskrit literary, intellectual, and religious culture. It is refreshing to see that the work of those historians who are engaging vigorously with the epigraphical and archaeological evidence of the age has brought forth a view that is more consonant with the abundant literary evidence of intellectual and aesthetic vigour.



strate in ways that rendered it accessible and acceptable to a far wider constituency and therefore all the more appealing to rulers in their role as the guardians of the brahmanical social order.

### ŚAIVISM AND MONARCHY

Śaivism's engagement with the first and most crucial of these elements is apparent in the fact that from the seventh century onwards inscriptions and prescriptive religious texts reveal that Śaiva brahmin Gurus were holding the position of royal preceptor (*raṅgaguruḥ*) in numerous new kingdoms both on the Indian subcontinent and in Southeast Asia and in this capacity empowering and legitimating the monarch's rule by granting him Śaiva initiation (*śivamaṇḍaladikṣā*). It might be thought that this would have been an unappealing step for any but the most reclusive and ineffectual of kings, since after initiation Śaivas were obliged to adhere to a complex and time-consuming program of daily and occasional rituals. However, early in the development of the Mantramārga, the Śaivas, no doubt in order to extend their recruitment and hence their influence, admitted a category of initiates who in consideration of the fact that they were incapable of taking on these onerous duties were exonerated from doing so.<sup>591</sup> The king was considered to qualify for this less arduous route to liberation by reason of his royal obligations. He was therefore required to adhere only to the obligations of an uninitiated devotee of Śiva taught in the texts of the *Śivadharmacorpus*, which in his case were principally to support the religion and its institutions, and to sponsor and appear in conspicuous ceremonies in the civic domain.

Moreover, according to prescriptive sources the king's initiation was to be followed by a Śaiva modification of the brahmanical royal consecration ceremony (*raṅgabhīṣekah*), bestowed both on the king and his chief consort, and also given to the heir apparent at the time that he was consecrated to succeed to his father's

<sup>591</sup> The distinction between these two categories of initiate, those who receive initiation with post-initiatory duties (*śaṅkṣā dikṣā* 'initiation with seed') and those who receive it without (*nirbīṣā dikṣā* 'initiation without seed'), is not present in the earliest Saiddhāntika scriptures, namely the corpus of *Nāṭya* texts found in the *Nāṭyasatattvasaṃhitā* codex, the earliest of which, the *Mūlasūtra*, was probably composed at some time between 450 and 550, for which dating see the conclusions of a recent workshop on this text summarized in the newsletter of the Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (GOODALL and ISAACSON 2007). On the relatively archaic character of the *Nāṭya* corpus see SANDERSON 2001, pp. 22–31 (archaic features listed in fn. 32, pp. 29–31), and SANDERSON 2006. The category of exonerated initiates appears later in the *Kīrāṇī*, the *Purāṇasāra*, and the *Saṅgachandā*, and, following the latter, in the *Paddhatis*. The textual evidence is given in SANDERSON forthcoming a.

throne (*vararājābhīṣekah*).<sup>592</sup>

This new ceremony was added to the purely Śaiva consecrations recognized by the core tradition, through which a Śaiva Guru empowered an initiate to take office as a Śādhaka (*sādhakābhīṣekah*), a specialist in Mantra-rituals for supernatural effects (*śiddhiḥ*), and that through which a retiring Guru (*ācāryah*) consecrated his chosen successor (*ācāryābhīṣekah*), passing on to him his duties. In this way the monarch was incorporated as a third kind of Śaiva initiate, who differed from the Śādhaka and the Guru not in the character of the initiation itself but in the consecration ceremony that followed it: while they were to be consecrated for purely Śaiva functions, the king was to be consecrated to take up office as the 'head of [the brahmanical social order of] the caste-classes and religious disciplines' (*varṇāśramaguruḥ*),<sup>593</sup> the role already assigned to him by brahmanical prescription.<sup>594</sup>

As the function of the Śaiva consecration is modified in this case, so its form, though in general Śaiva, incorporates distinctive non-Śaiva elements appropriate to its mundane and brahmanical aspects, such as the inclusion of the royal

<sup>592</sup> The textual and epigraphical evidence for the practice of royal initiation, and the textual evidence for the king's exoneration from Śaiva duties, and this ancillary Śaiva modification of the brahmanical royal consecration ceremony are presented in SANDERSON forthcoming a. On the brahmanical consecrations of the king, queen, and heir apparent see SANDERSON 2005a, p. 382 and notes 115–117.

<sup>593</sup> *Naimittikakarmānusamdhāna* f. 74v1: (4.118) *varṇānām āśramānām ca gurubhāvaya bhūpatēḥ* | *yo 'bhīṣekavidhiḥ so 'pi procyate dikṣitātmanah* 'I shall also teach the rite of consecration as the means by which a king, provided that he has received [Śaiva] initiation, becomes the patron of the caste-classes and brahmanical disciplines'.

<sup>594</sup> *Manusmṛti* 7.35cd: *varṇānām āśramānām ca rājā vṛjito 'bhīṣekitā* 'The king has been created as the guardian of the castes and disciplines'; *Bṛhaspatismṛti* 1.9ab: *tasmād varṇāśramānām tu netāṣau nirmitāḥ purā* 'he was created of old as the leader of the castes and disciplines'; *Viṣṇusmṛti* 3.1–3: *atha rājadharmāḥ. prajāparipālanaṃ* | *varṇāśramānām sve sve dharme vyavasthāpanam* 'Next the duties of the king: protection of his subjects [and] ensuring that the castes and [followers of the] disciplines keep to their respective duties'; *Viṣṇudharmottara* 2.65.55: *varṇāśramavyavasthā tu tathā kār्या viśeṣataḥ* | *svadharmaṇyapayānā rājā svadharme viniyojyate* 'And his special duty is to establish the castes and disciplines. The king must force those who have fallen away from their duties [as members and followers of these] to practice them'. The characterization of the king in accordance with these injunctions as the Guru of the castes and disciplines (*varṇāśramaguruḥ*) is a commonplace in our period. See, for example, *Sāvatasaṃhitā* 24.16–17 (> *Īśvarasaṃhitā* 17.14–15); Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara* 12.6.85; Candraprabhasūri, *Prabhāratācarita* v. 284ab; Kṣemendra, *Avadānakalpalatā* 2.60c and 27.22b. See also the cognate expressions *śarvāśramaguruḥ* and *āśramānām guruḥ* in *Netraṇtantra* 19.87 and 20.55b, *varṇāśramadharmamāyādācāryah* and *akṣilāśramaguruḥ* in *Āgamadambara*, Act 2, prose after 20 and Act 3, v. 4, and *varṇaguruḥ* in *Rājataranī* f. 3.85ab.



banners, weapons, and armour in the objects of worship,<sup>595</sup> the seating of the king on a platform covered with the skins of a fighting bull and a cat,<sup>596</sup> the

<sup>595</sup> *Naimittikakarmānusamdhāna*, f. 76r4-v1 (4.129c-132): *ghaṭṣu abhyaraya lokesān sāstrān indrapura-cha-sarān* || 130 *śivam agniā ca hetā ca ketuā* (conj.: *ketuā* Cod.) *ceśādivēdī* [Marginal glosses: *khagādī* on *hetā* and *dhvajacīnam* on *ketuā*] | *saṃnidhikṛtya saṃtarpya pūjāyeca cakravartinā* || 131 *udagvedīśira-cha-sṭheṣu kalāśeśūktalakṣmasu* | *anantādiśikhāṇḍyāntān* (corr.: *antā* Cod.) *dīpvidīkṣu yathākramam* || 132 *tasyās tadavā adha-cha-sṭheṣu rudramātrgaṇāṭhādan* | *grahāsurapalāsākhyān* (conj.: *ākhyā* Cod.) *bhūginām adhipān api* 'He should worship Indra and the other Lokapālas together with their weapons in the vases, and then Śiva, Agni, the [royal] weapons, and the [royal] banner on the altars beginning [with that] in the northeast. He should then summon, gratify, and worship the [eight] Universal Monarchs [i.e. the Vidyēśvaras], beginning with Ananta and ending with Śikhāṇḍin, in the vases whose required characteristics have been stated above, set on the northern altar, and likewise, below that [altar], the Rudras, the Mātrās, Kubera, the Grahas, the Asuras, the flesh-eating [Rākṣasas], and the Nāga lords'; f. 76r2-4 (4.141-142): *śivāgnihetiketunām kārītibhūm athārānam* | *pañcagavyam caruṃ tābhyaṃ datvā ca dvijaśodhanam* || *svāpayitvā tu tau tatra sarakṣau vedikāvayē* | *pṛtha-ka* > *prākṣīrasau mahyām samyatau kṣaumaśayayoh* 'He should make both [the king and queen] offer worship to Śiva, the Fire, the [royal] weapons, and the [royal] banner, and then give them the five products of the cow, rice porridge [prepared on the sacred fire], and a tooth-cleaning twig. He should then have them sleep on the ground with their heads to the east on beds of linen on the surface of the two altars, having provided them with protection (*sarakṣau*). They should observe chastity [throughout the night]. For the protection mentioned here see the rites such those of protecting the beds by reciting of the Weapon-Mantra over them and surrounding them with Weapon-empowered lines of mustard-seeds, sesame-seeds, and ash set out in *Uttarakāṃika* 23.64-69 (elaborating the related expression *sarakṣān svāpayen nīti*) and *Mrgendra*, *Kṛtyāpāda* 7.98c-103, both cited in BRUNNER 1977, pp. 216-221. As for the requirement that the king and queen should sleep with their heads to the east, this too expresses the relatively mundane nature of this consecration. For at this point in Śaiva initiation ritual candidates are to sleep with their heads to the east if they seek benefits other than liberation; see *Mrgendra*, *Kṛtyāpāda* 7.99ab: *bubhokṣoh śayanaṃ kuryād guruḥ prācnamastakam*.

<sup>596</sup> *Naimittikakarmānusamdhāna* f. 76v4-5 (4.150-152b): *hetān astrapa ketūm* *ca varmaṇā kaṅkaṭāny api* [Marginal gloss on *kaṅkaṭāni*: *saṃnahanāni*] | *sugandhapuṣpadhūpādyair naivedyāntaiḥ prapūjya ca* || *anantādiṣṇ ca vīdyēśān udagvedīyān* (conj.: *ved+* + + + *vedyāś* Cod.) *ca pūruvat* | *rudrādiṣṇ ca ghaṭṣu iṣṭvā vedoy ūrdhvam athāstaret* | *bṛhadukṣo 'tīśūrasya vṛṣadāmśasya car[ma]n* || 'After worshipping with offerings beginning with fragrant flowers and incense and ending with cooked food the weapons and the banners with the Weapon-Mantra and the cuirasses with the Armour-Mantra, he should worship Ananta and the other \*Vidyēśvaras on the northern altar (conj.) as before and after worshipping the Rudras, the Mātrās, Kubera, the Grahas, the Asuras, the flesh-eating [Rākṣasas], and [the Nāga lords] he should spread on the two altars the skins of a fighting bull and a cat'. Cf. Varāhamihira *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 47.75-76, on the royal puṣyānānam: *gatvā dvitīyavediṇ samupaviṣṇ carmaṇāni upari rājā* | *deyāni caiva carmaṇāni upari upary evam elāni* || *vṛṣasya vṛṣadāmśasya ruroś ca pṛṣṭasya ca* | *teṣān upari śiṃhasya vyāghrasya ca tataḥ param*; and Viṣṇudharmottara 2.21.35 on the brahmanical royal consecration (*rājyābhīṣekah*): *vṛṣasya* (corr.: *vṛkasya* Ed.)

recitation of the Mantra text of sixteen verses prescribed for the brahmanical prototype when the water of consecration is poured over the king's head,<sup>597</sup> and, after the ceremony is complete, the king's return to his palace in full military parade, mounted on an elephant or white horse, preceded by the royal banners, and showered with parched rice by the women standing on the roofs of the mansions along his route.<sup>598</sup>

Just as this brahmanical rite is subsumed within the Śaiva process of initiation and consecration, so its outcome, the king's entitlement to rule as guardian of the brahmanical social order now entails the additional requirement or, one might say, compensation to the Śaivas for this descent into the mundane, that he should ensure that the authority of brahmanical prescription be subsumed within, and subordinate to, that of the Śaiva scriptures, an injunction supported by the promise that by enforcing this hierarchical relationship he will secure the stability of his rule and kingdom, implying that by neglecting to do so he will bring about their collapse.<sup>599</sup>

*vṛṣadāmśasya dvipināś ca bhṛgūttama* | *teṣān upari śiṃhasya vyāghrasya ca tataḥ param*.

<sup>597</sup> *Naimittikakarmānusamdhāna* ff. 77r1-79r1 (interrupted by the loss of a folio), beginning (4.168-169): *loke vede prasiddhā-cha-s ca viprān etarhi pāthayet* | *abhiṣekāśiṣaḥ* (corr.: *abhiṣekāśikṣaḥ* Cod.) *ślokan ṛṣiprotā-cha-s ca tad yathā* || *surās tvām abhiṣīcantu ye ca siddhā-cha purātanaḥ* | *brahmā viṣṇuś ca śambhuś ca śākradyās ca marudgaṇāḥ* || ... These verses are prescribed for this purpose by Varāhamihira in the first half of the sixth century in *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 47.55-70.

<sup>598</sup> *Naimittikakarmānusamdhāna* f. 84r2-5: *ārādhya bhadrāmātaṅgam athavā vājinaṃ silam* || *ātapatreya bhubhṛga hemadāṇḍena* \**cārūnā* (conj.: *cā* + + Cod.) | \**nigṛhītātopaḥ* (conj.: + + *hītātopaḥ* Cod.) *śvetair vijyamānās ca* \**cāmaraiḥ* (em.: *cāparaiḥ* Cod.) || *cāturaṅgabaloṭetaḥ purataḥ ketumālayā* || *astaviṅho 'nukalena dhūṭayā + + vāyunā* (diagm. conj.: + + + Cod.) | *saudhāgravedikāsthābhīḥ kulapatnībhir ādarāt* || *prayuktaṃ lājavarṣam ca manyamāno* \**bahupriyam* (conj.: *vahapriyam* Cod.) | *praviṣṇ scapuram* \**pauraiḥ* (conj.: *pau* + Cod.) + + + + *vikāśibhiḥ*.

<sup>599</sup> *Mohacūḍottara* f. 21v-22r (4.276-281): *śrutismṛtipurāṇāni āgama dharmadeśakāḥ* | *etair yo variate rājā sa rājyaṃ bhuñjate ciraṃ* || 277 *purāṇam bādhyate vedair āgamaś ca taduktayāḥ* | *sāmānyam ca viśeṣam ca* | *śaivism vaiśeṣikam vacaḥ* || 278 *bādhyabādhakabhāvena no vikalyam vicakṣaṇaiḥ* | *yad yathāvasthitam vastu sarvajñaś tad tad āvudet* || 279 *āgamānām bahutve tu yatra vakyadavayam bhavet* | *kṣiprān pramāṇam tadā grāhyaṃ pramāṇam śāhkaram vacaḥ* || 280 \**grāhād granthāntaram* | *ikā (?) śāpekṣanirapekṣayoh* | *samādhānam tayoḥ kāryam arthāpattīyāsādhanaḥ* || 281 *evam jñātva surādhyakṣa nirvṛtīn paramām vraja* | *evam dharmānvite rājā śivā svarāṣṭre sarvadā śivam* ('The sources') that teach religious duty are the Vedas, the Dharmasāstras, the Purāṇas, and the Āgamas. The Purāṇas are outweighed by the Vedas and the teachings of the latter by the Āgamas. The common and the special, the latter being the teachings of Śiva, are related so that the second outweighs the first. The learned should have no doubt about this. [For it is] all-knowing [Śiva that] has taught everything as it truly is. When, there being a plurality of scriptural authorities, there are two [contradictory] text-passages



The Śaivas also adapted the theory of their ritual practice to enable them to claim that those rulers who underwent their ceremonies would be empowered in their efforts to maintain their supremacy and extend it through conquest. The ceremony of initiation had been conceived as the means of obtaining liberation and was always presented in these terms in theoretical texts. But a fifteenth-century Kashmirian scholar can proclaim in a eulogy of his patriline that by receiving initiation from one of his ancestors kings had expelled their enemies and long enjoyed distinguished reigns.<sup>600</sup> Similarly, an inscription of the twelfth or thirteenth century from Hariyāga tells us that the effect of the initiation of King Śūrapāla was to give him power beyond that of all his rivals.<sup>601</sup> It adds that if his Guru Mūrtigaṇa initiated a brahmin, a king, or his minister he thereby made them [respectively] the repository of knowledge, the master of all the earth, and the foremost of men.<sup>602</sup> In the Malkāpuram inscription of A.D. 1261 we are told that the effect of the initiation given by Viśveśvaraśiva to the Kākātiya prince Rudradeva was to make the might of his [right] arm, that is to say his valour in battle, shine more brilliantly.<sup>603</sup> The same notion is apparent in the great Mebon inscription of A.D. 953 of the Khmer monarch Rājendravarmān.

In a passage describing his marching forth to war it speaks of the ceremony of [Śaiva] Maṇḍala initiation as intensifying his brilliance, a statement that in the context must be taken to refer to his power to conquer his enemies.<sup>604</sup>

Nor was it only the theory that was adjusted to suit their patrons. According to the *Bṛhakkālottara* the Śaiva Guru was to close the initiation ceremony by giving *abhiṣekaḥ* to the horses, elephants, chariots, and soldiers of the army by sprinkling them with the water from the vase of the Weapon-Mantra (*astrakalaśaḥ*), one of the two main vases prepared in the course of the ceremony, "in order to remove all obstacles and to ensure victory in battle".<sup>605</sup> The Śaivas also created a double of their ritual of post-initiatory consecration (*abhiṣekaḥ*) to be performed for the king before he entered the fray.<sup>606</sup> A much elaborated form of this 'consecration for victory' (*jayābhiṣekaḥ*), involving Śākta Śaiva rather than Śaiva Mantra-deities and one thousand vases, is taught in the 248 verses of the 27th chapter of the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Lingapurāṇa*.

They also offered a wealth of apotropaic, invigorative, and hostile Mantra-rites that could be performed on demand for the benefit of the realm, to promote the success of royal patrons, and to frustrate their enemies. The evidence for such

[one non-Śaiva and the other Śaiva] and the question of which is valid arises one must privilege the teaching of Śiva. The two should be reconciled, as respectively dependent and independent [in their validity], by means of implication and other exegetical tools, "[on the evidence of] the texts [themselves in which these statements occur], related texts, and commentary (?). Having understood this, Indra, achieve the highest bliss. Provided that the king adheres to religion in this manner, his kingdom will always prosper".

<sup>600</sup> Rājānaka Śitikantha, *Rājānakavāṇīśaprasaṅga*, v.50b: *tasmād yodhagurur bahūḥva bhagavān camprāpya dikṣāṃ yataḥ | prāpya rājyaṃ opātaravīnikarāś cakraś civaḥ śūbhahujā* 'His son was the Venerable Yodha. When kings received initiation from him they drove off all their enemies and had long and outstanding reigns'. For the probable identity of these kings see SANDERSON 2007a, p. 397.

<sup>601</sup> *El* 1, pp. 61-66, ll. 12-13: *sadbhaktim mūrtigaṇa guṇindro* (corr.: *guṇindro*) *Ep.* *bhūḥva bhūpālāhrdayasūryaḥ | sadbhaktiḥ yasya sa śūrapāladevo bahūḥva pratimāprabhāvaḥ* 'Then there was his devotee Mūrtigaṇa, foremost of the virtuous, the sun that opened the lotus that is the heart of the king, by whose excellent initiation Śūrapāladeva became [a king] whose might was unequalled'.

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid.* ll. 13-14 (continuous with the passage cited in the preceding note): *... rīpam bhūmipatīm tadyam ahaudmāyāṃ sa yam dikṣayit | tam tam bodhanādhim samastapṛthivīnātham pradānam nṛpāḥ śhūpam patrīnam ātanot tarum iva śrīyājñavalkya munih* 'Any brahmin, king, or minister that he initiated he made the repository of [all] knowledge, lord of the whole earth, and the foremost of men, just as the sage Yājñavalkya caused a tree, a [mere] plant, to burst into leaf'. When the dissolute king Supriya contemptuously refused the sacred water and grain that Yājñavalkya had brought to the palace to restore his health, Yājñavalkya sprinkled them on to a rotten tree and departed. Seeing that the dead tree immediately burst into leaf the king tried without success to have him return.

<sup>603</sup> PANTULU 1939, v. 22: *śrīviśveśvaradehikendralāhastodhāsitorvikramas*.

<sup>604</sup> The Mebon inscription (in FINOT 1925 [=K. 582], pp. 309-352), vv. 39-40: *ites ta-to vidyut icādyutac chris tāvan nṛpānām pracalā prakṛtyā | ramyā śarat prādūr abhūn na yāvad yadiyayātrāsamayo nirabhṛā* || 40 *tīrāstranirājanarājitaśrī dipto mahāmaṇḍaladikṣayā yaḥ | vidyāngamantraiś ca kṛtāmaguṇīḥ asādhayaḥ | siddhim udārābhūtim* 'The fortune of kings, [though] unstable by nature, did not flicker here and there like lightning until the charming, cloudless autumn appeared, the season of his marching forth. His splendour enhanced by the lustration of his mighty weapons, he himself [made more] brilliant by initiation before the Great Maṇḍala [of Śiva], his person protected by the Vidyāṅga Mantras, he accomplished the Siddhi of total success'.

<sup>605</sup> *Bṛhakkālottara* A. 1.45v2-3 (22.24c-25b): *hastyaśvaratha-yodhānām* (em.: *yo-dhyānā* Cod.) *secanam astravāṇīḥ | kartavyam vighnanāśakam saṅgrāme jaya-kāraṇam* 'He should [then] consecrate the elephants, horses, and soldiers with water from the Weapon-vase to remove obstacles and [so] bring about [the king's] victory [in war]'.

<sup>606</sup> *Kīraṇa* f.52v (27.23c-25b): *prokto 'yam abhiṣeka-ḥ' syā<d> vijayārtham nṛpasya ca* || 27.24 *saubhāgyajananaṃ mukhyaṃ grahapīḍānivartakam | sarvasampat'pradaṃ śrīdam* (corr.: *pradā śrīdā* Cod.) *yaśokīrtivardhanam* || 27.25 *sāntipūṣṭikarāḥ proktaḥ soko 'yam vighnanāśakāḥ* 'This consecration that I have taught may also be performed to ensure a king's victory. It is the principal means of bringing about good fortune. It removes oppression by possessing spirits. It bestows all success and wealth. It augments [the king's] fame and reputation. I have also taught it as the means of warding off ill, restoring vitality, and eliminating obstacles'. Cf. *Siddhāntasāra* *pradhatī*: *evam anenaiva vidhina rājyakamasya bhraṣṭarājasya putrakāmāyā saubhāgyakāmāyā abhiṣekam kuryāt* 'Following this same procedure he may perform the consecration for one who desires sovereignty, for one who has lost his kingdom, and for a woman who desires a son or good fortune'.



rituals in the scriptural literature of the Śaivas, especially in its Śākta Śaiva texts, is pervasive.<sup>607</sup> There is also historical evidence of specific performances. For example, an inscription of the fifth year of the reign of the Cola Rājādhirāja II (r. 1163–1179 or 1166–1182) from the Tiruvāliśvara temple at Ārppakkam near Kāñcīpuram<sup>608</sup> tells us that when an army from Sri Lanka had invaded the Pāṇḍya country, plundered the treasury of the temple of Rāmeśvaram, and interrupted the cult of Śiva there, the emperor, fearing that the war might spread approached a certain Jñānaśivadeva of Gauḍa, who can be seen from his name to have been a Saiddhāntika Śaiva Guru, to free the country from this menace by ritual means. The Guru, we are told, then worshipped Śiva for this purpose for twenty-eight days continuously, and it was reported subsequently that these 'attackers of Śiva' (*śivadrohi*) had indeed been defeated. The Baḍaun inscription of Lakṣanapāla praises the Rājaguru Mūrtigaṇa for his expertise in "the great rites of subjection and attraction" (l. 13: *vaśyākṛṣṭimahāvidhānānipuṇaḥ*); and Hrasvanātha, a Kashmirian Guru of the Kālikula who also held office as the minister of peace and war under Yaśaskara (r. 939–948), performed a ritual to kill his king and other rituals to cause dissension and immobilize, presumably directed against an invading army.<sup>609</sup>

Just as the Guru imbued the king through the ceremonies of initiation and consecration with the numinous power of Śivahood in the exercise of his sovereignty, so the Śaiva rites by which the Guru assumed his office ensured that he, as Śiva's agent among men, was imbued with the numen of royalty. As in the brahmanical consecration of a king, in which the royal astrologer was to provide him with the royal elephant, horse, throne, parasol, fly-whisk, sword, bow, and jewels,<sup>610</sup> so at the time of a Guru's consecration he received from his predecessor the non-martial symbols of sovereignty (*rājāṅgāni*, *rājacināni*), such as the turban, crown, parasol, sandals, fly-whisk, elephant, horse, and palanquin.<sup>611</sup> To these we may add the throne supported by sculpted lions

(*śimhāsanaṃ*) so intimately associated with kingship in the Indian tradition.<sup>612</sup> For a manual for royal initiation, the *Amṛtesadikṣāvidhi*, instructs the king to reward his Guru with gifts that should include golden jewellery set with rubies and pearls, a pair of jewelled sandals, a parasol, two white chowries, an elephant, and also a golden lion-throne;<sup>613</sup> and the Malkāpuram inscription of A.D. 1261 describes Viśveśvaraśivācārya sitting on such a throne by virtue of his office as the Śaiva Guru of the Kākatya king Gaṇapati of Warangal (r. 1199–1261),<sup>614</sup> decked out in royal splendour, "with his mass of tawny locks adorned with a diadem trembling [as he speaks], with the full-blown lotus of his face radiating blessings, with his pearl ear-rings striking the tops of his shoulders [as he moves his head from side to side], entrancing with his strings of pearls".<sup>615</sup>

Furthermore, according to the prescriptions of the Śaiva scriptures the residence to be built for the Guru by his royal disciple was in many respects similar in its layout to the royal palace. It included, for example, an arsenal for the storage of weapons of war.<sup>616</sup> That Gurus should have needed the

*Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Uttarabhāga*, 27.259–261 the attributes of kings (*nṛpacihnāni*) are "the conch, the fly-whisk, the drum etc., a moon-white parasol, a palanquin, and the war-banner" (*śaṅkhacāmarabheryādyam chattraṃ candrasamaprabham | śikhikāṃ vajrayanāntīm ca sādhyen nṛpatē śubhām | rājyābhīṣekayuktāya kṣatriyāśveśvarāya vā | nṛpacihnāni nānyeṣāṃ kṣatriyāṅām vidhīyate*).

<sup>612</sup> For an image of such a throne see, e.g., the eighth-century metal Tūra from Sirpur (Śrīpura) in HUNTINGTON 1985, plate 30. The notion that the throne is the very embodiment of sovereignty and imparts its power to the enthroned is already found in the Vedic literature, in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (12.8.3.4) (GONDA 1966: 45–46): *āsandīdām abhiṣīcāt | āsandī sad vai sāmṛājyaṃ sāmṛājyenaivainam sāmṛājyaṃ gamayati* 'He consecrates him by affusion on the throne. The throne is indeed true sovereignty. Through [this] sovereignty he causes him to achieve sovereignty'.

<sup>613</sup> *Amṛtesadikṣāvidhi* f.16v2–3: 37 *paścād gurur dakṣaṇīyaḥ svarṇabhāraiḥ "su-vistaraḥ" (em. : suviṣṭaraḥ Cod.) | māṇikyamuktāḥkacitair alankaraiḥ ca adbhutaiḥ | 38 navaratnamayair dāntaiḥ tathā vai ratnapāduke | haimaṃ śimhāsanaṃ chattraṃ dattvā vai cāmara śubhe | 39 maṇimuktāśvanāgendra-ūstra-meṣagavāddibhiḥ | kṣetragrāmādiviṣayair maṇḍalaiḥ ca śubhair varaiḥ* 'After that the Guru should be rewarded with extremely large quantities of gold, with marvellous jewellery set with rubies and pearls, and of the nine jewels, and of ivory, and, having given him a pair of jewelled sandals, a golden lion-throne, two white chowries, with jewels, pearls, horse, elephants, camels, rams, cows and the like, fields, villages and the like, districts, and fine provinces'.

<sup>614</sup> PANTULU 1930, v. 38d: *tasmā gaṇapatyadhīśagururūṣaśimhāsanaśivāsiṇi śrīviśveśvaraśeṣike* 'While the Guru Viśveśvara[śiva], occupies the lion-throne of his office as Guru of King Gaṇapati'. Note also the reading *chatrapādūkam āsanam* 'parasol, sandals, and throne' in the Kashmirian text of *Svachchandatantra* 4.470.

<sup>615</sup> PANTULU 1930, v. 39: *ivaṅgatpingajālakīrtam udayasmerāravindānānam muktā-kundalātāḍitāmśaśikharāṃ hāraiḥ manohāriṇam | vidadyāṇḍapavartinaṃ gaṇapatīśmāpādīkṣagurum śrīviśveśvaraśambhum* *viśīṭavatām te cakṣuṣi cakṣuṣi*.

<sup>616</sup> *Mayasamgraha* 5.182ab: *dhanuḥkhaḍgasarādini vidadhyat te gṛhaksate*;

<sup>607</sup> For some examples see SANDERSON 2007a, p. 281, fn. 166.

<sup>608</sup> ARE 20 of 1899, *SII* 4:456; ARE 1899, §§23–38 (partial translation in §34).

<sup>609</sup> See SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 280–291; 2007b, pp. 295–296.

<sup>610</sup> *Viṇudharmottara* 2.4.18c–20b: *tato "bhīṣekasambhārāṇaṃ tasya kuryāt sa daivavīti | kuṭījarāṇi turagaṃ kuryāt tasya rājāḥ parīkṣitau | bhadrāsanaṃ ca chattraṃ ca vālavayanaṃ eva ca | khaḍgaratnaṃ tathā cāpaṃ ratnāni vividhāni ca*.

<sup>611</sup> Bhojudeva, *Siddhāntasārapaddhati* f.41v (< *Svachchandatantra* 4.470): *uṣṇīṣa-makulaṭchatrapādūkakāmarahastyaśvaśibikādirājāṅgāni ...dattvā. Svachchandatantra* 4.70b has a throne or seat (*chattraṃ pādūkam āsanam*) where Bhojudeva has a fly-whisk, but his account agrees with that of the *Svachchandatantra* as transmitted in Nepalese and Grantha manuscripts. Thus NAK MS 1-224, f.48r3: *uṣṇīṣamakuṭādyāṃś ca chatrapādūkakāmarah | hastyaśvaśibikādyāṃś ca rājāṅgāni aśeṣataḥ*; and IFI T. 1032, p. 96: *uṣṇīṣamakuṭādyāṃś ca chatracāmarapādūkaḥ | hastyaśvaśibikādyāṃś ca rājāṅgāni aśeṣataḥ*. In



means of warfare may surprise. But a fragmentary inscription of the late tenth century from Kadwāhā in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh relates that when hostile forces had invaded the region and the king had been slain, the Śaiva ascetic Dharmasiva, abbot of the Aranipadra monastery, went into battle and routed the enemy through his skill as an archer, at the cost of his own life.<sup>617</sup> Nor is this an isolated instance. From the Jubbulpore stone inscription of Vimalasiva, Rājaguru of the Kalacuri kings Jayasimha (r. c. 1163–1188) and Vijayasimha (r. c. 1188–1210), we learn that the activities of his predecessor Kirtisiva, Rājaguru of Narasimha (r. 1153–1163), extended beyond the spiritual to those of a military commander who expanded his monarch's realm and added to his own through the appropriation of temples in the territories gained.<sup>618</sup>

*Paṅgalāmata* f. 71r1–2 (10.28c–31): *grhaksate grham caiva śāstrasamsthāpanāya tu | khaḍgabāhānāṣu caiva kṛtāro mudgaras tathā | cehurikā kuntadantaś ca citradanṣas tathāiva ca | lakṣmī dakti pāsā ca kaṇṇaś tūlapatrakāḥ | cakrāśi gadavajras ca ankuśāś ca kupattīśah | evamāyāni cāstrāni pharaṇi viśvadhāni ca |* *śūpatitayāni devesu grhe grhaksataya tu.* The term *grhaksatāḥ* here denotes (the deity of) a segment immediately to the east of its centre of the southern edge of the square plan. In the last verse I take *phara-* to be a variant of *sphara-* 'shield' from Iranian (Old Persian *spara-barai* 'shield-bearer'; Persian *ispar* 'shield').

<sup>617</sup> EI 37.20, ll. 10–16. The inscription is fragmentary, but this much of its meaning is clear: while the ascetic Dharmasiva was in the monastery at Aranipadra (elsewhere called Aranipadra) performing austerities (*tenāraṇipadāni nāma kṛtāni padam aniditāni* ... *dattarāṇipade* ... *tasya dharmasiva ity abhavaḥ jīvitūm śīgṛha* ... *tasya-śrame vārdhayatas tapāmsi* [ll. 10–12]) a ruler called Gobhata came there with a force of elephants (*tatrājagāmonmadāsindhurāṇām balena bhūpaḥ kila gobhata-khyah* [l. 12]). Someone, perhaps the local ruler, was killed by this king (*śrīrāṇa parāgatāḥ sahaṇā papāta* [ll. 12–13]); and he, evidently Dharmasiva, wept with compassion for a while when he heard the news (*tasyaśvaganya sa kathāni karuṇā-vimuktābhāṣaḥ kṛpām* [l. 13]), then, flying into a rage (*tad anu kopavipāḍālakṣaḥ* [l. 13]), went into battle, a veritable Śiva on earth, armed with a bow 'that had come [down to him] from Prabhāva[śiva]?' (*atha prabhāvaśatakārmukheṇa bhāṣaś ca dīptah sa dharācayānkaḥ* [l. 14]), and, like Śiva in his Tripurāntaka embodiment, routed the whole army of the enemy before ascending to the incomparable world [above] in a shower of flowers scattered by Indra's celestial nymphs (*ātta[śca]līlas tripurāntakasya ... śakalam api sa jīte śāstravaj śarvakalpaḥ | śurapātiramaṇi-nām puṣpaṇṇāyuktirṇaḥ puram anupamam* ... [l. 15]). The poet refers here to the reward conventionally attributed to a warrior who dies bravely when fighting to protect his country; see, e.g., *Mahābhārata* 8, supplementary passage 14, ll. 31–34; 13, supplementary passage 15, ll. 1358–1361.

<sup>618</sup> EI 25.33 (A.D. 1174), vv. 23–24: *na syandanaṁ vasumatī na ca candraśūrya cakre na śarathir abhūt sa ca viśvayonih | neṣur harih paraparūṇi tathāpi bhāṣma cakre yataś sa ki kirtisivaḥ sphuṭam sah | yasoḥkar induvādaśa tathāivāritkaritāḥ | apūrat sa sarvāśa vivekakusumair ita* 'He was manifestly [worthy of the name] Kirtisiva [Temple/Fame-Śiva]. For he [was a Śiva in as much as he] reduced the cities of his enemies to ashes [just as Śiva did to the cities of the three demons] even though his war chariot [unlike Śiva's] was not the earth, the sun and moon were not its two wheels, its driver was not Brahmā, and his arrow was not Viṣṇu; and he filled all the directions with the moon-white temples that he had wrested from his

Kings rewarded their Gurus with the donation or construction of monasteries (*maṭhaḥ*) and with grants of revenue from designated lands with which they themselves constructed and endowed such institutions. Thus in the first half of the ninth century the Rājaguru Purandara founded two monasteries in Gwalior, one at Mattamayūra and a second at Aranipadra, using the funds he had received from king Avantivarman as the *dakṣiṇā* for performing the king's Śaiva initiation, for which purpose he had been persuaded to move to Mattamayūra, probably from Malava. The wealth received is described in the inscription that records these events as '[the revenue of] the most valuable portion of his kingdom'.<sup>619</sup> Similarly, when the Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva

foes, just as he did with the [white] blossoms of his *Vivekas*'. My translation finds a reference to [lost] works by Kirtisiva entitled *Viveka*, presumably commentaries on Śaiva texts. It is possible that the poet refers not to works but to Kirtisiva's spiritual insights (*vivekāḥ*).

<sup>619</sup> Ranod inscription, EI 1.41, vv. 10–15: *tasmāt purandaragurur guruwad garimṇaḥ prajātirekajanitasya babhūva bhūmiḥ | yasyādhanūpi vibudhar itikṛtyaśmī vyāhanyate na vacanaṁ nayamārgavāidbhīḥ* || 11 *vandyaḥ ko 'pi cakasty acintya-mahimā tulyam munir bhāṣatā rājann uttamaśobadpūrvāsikharābhyaṇam prakīrṇadyutiḥ | dikṣārthiṭi vaco nīṣanya sukṛti cāroktam urvipatir yasyehāna-yānya yatnam akaroc chrimān avantiḥ purā* || 12 *gatvā tapasyantam upendrapūrvē pure tadā śrīmadavāntivarmā | bhṛṣṇa samārādhyā tam ātmabhūmiṇi kathaṁcid ānya cakāra pūtam* || 13 *athapasadūpya ca samyaḥ aiśiṇ dikṣam sa dakṣo guruda-kṣiṇārtham | nivedya yasmāi nījarājyasāraṇi svajannasaphalyam avāpa bhūpaḥ* || 14 *sa kārayām āsa samrddhibhāṇam munir maṭham sanmuniratnabhūmim | prasi-ddham āvāridhi merukalpaṇa śrīmatpure mattamayūranāmnī* || 15 *punar dvitīyaṁ svayam aditīyo guṇair munindro rāṇipadrasaṇjīam | tapovanam śreṣṭhamatṛam vidhāya preṣṭhaḥ pratiṣṭhām parameṇa nīnāya* 'Then came the Guru Purandara, who as befitted a Guru had the gravity that comes from the highest wisdom, whose teachings concerning the duties [of Śaiva initiates] have still not been surpassed by scholars learned in the way of discipline, whom the glorious and virtuous king Avantivarman made efforts to bring to this land because he desired to receive [Śaiva] initiation and had heard from one of his agents that there was a certain holy ascetic in the vicinity of Uttamaśikara shining in unimaginable glory, shedding his radiance like the sun. Avantivarman then went to [Purandara], who was practising austerities in Upendrapura, and having striven to win his favour succeeded in bringing him back to sanctify his kingdom. Then, having served him with devotion he duly received Śaiva initiation [from him]. The wise king then presented him with the best part of the wealth of his kingdom as Guru's fee and so brought his human birth to fulfilment. In the splendid town of Mattamayūra the sage then caused a richly endowed Mēru-like monastery to be built, a treasury of jewel-like ascetics, the fame of which has reached [throughout the continent] to the oceans. This foremost of sages, himself unmatched in his virtues, built and richly endowed a second and most splendid monastery, [this] hermitage of Aranipadra'. I say that Purandara probably came from Malava because we are told here that before he was brought to Mattamayūra he was in Upendrapura and a grant of 1110 issued by the Paramāra king Naravarman (EI 20.11) refers to the gifting of land in a village in the district of Upendrapura (l. 5: *upendrapuramaṇḍale*), which must have been within his kingdom, that is to say, in Malava. It is probable that this town and



I *alias* Keyūrnavaśa (c. 915–945) induced Purandara's spiritual descendant Prabhāvaśiva (Śadbhāvaśiva) to move to his kingdom in Chhattisgarh, he founded for him at huge expense the great monastery at Golagī,<sup>620</sup> granting him by royal charter numerous villages and a whole well-populated town, which, since it is not named, was probably Golagī itself,<sup>621</sup> or, according to the account

district bore the name of Upendra, the first of the Paramāra kings according to the genealogy given by the poet Padmagupta in 11.76 of his *Navaśāhasānīkacarita*.

<sup>620</sup> In all secondary sources, including SANDERSON 2007a (p. 274), the name of this monastery (*maṭha*) appears as Golakī. That spelling is well attested, but only in manuscripts and inscriptions from the Dravidian South, where the scribes, speaking languages in which voiced and unvoiced consonants are not distinguished, are liable to substitute *k* for *g*. We also find *holakī* there. I now correct to Golagī because this is what I find in the earliest testimony, which comes from regions whose vernacular languages do distinguish these consonants, namely Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Kṛiyāṇḍakramāvalī* and the Bāṅgarh Prāśasti of the time of Nayapaḥa (c. 1027–1043) (SIRCAR 1983b, v. 6: *gologayā sa mahāmāṭha*). The name appears as Golagī in the Chandrehe inscription (*caranapūṭagolaggikah*). I identify Golagī with modern Gurgi (244° 31' N, 81° 27' E), about 12 miles due east of Rewa Town, in the north of the Kalacuri kingdom. This is the site of once vast Śaiva ruins (CUNNINGHAM 1885, pp. 149–154; MEYER *et al.* 1908–1931, vol. 21, pp. 282–283; BANERJĪ 1931, pp. 41–45). A full account of my reasons for proposing this location and for rejecting as groundless the widespread view that the monastery was in the south of the kingdom at Bherghāṭ on the Narmadā river, close to the Kalacuri capital Tripurī, must be set out elsewhere.

<sup>621</sup> Chandrehe inscription, *CII* 4i:44, v. 6: *tato madhumatipateḥ kṛtamahātapaḥ-saṃcayāḥ prabhāvaśiva ity abhūt sakalaśaivacūḍāmaṇiḥ | anekānṛpavanditāḥ sa yuvārājadevena yas tapodhanapatih kṛtā caranapūṭa-golaggikah* (my reading: *golognikah* MIRASHI, BANERJĪ [*EI* 21:23]) 'Then after the abbot of Madhumati came that crest-jewel of all the Śaivas called Prabhāvaśiva, who had accumulated vast power through his asceticism and was revered by many kings. He purified Golagī [=Golagī] with his feet after being appointed by Yuvārājadeva as overlord of the ascetics [of the monastery at that place]; and the Gurgi inscription, *EI* 22:21, vv. 6–7: *tasyākhilakṣītipatiprapanātāmāṅgaśūcācūḍāmaṇiyuticayārcitapāda-piṭhaḥ | śiṣyo babhūva bhuvanatrayakīrtanīyaḥ śrīmatprabhāvaśivanāmanun-manīḥ | ānīya yaṃ sahaśaśāsanāyā nayajñāḥ śrīmugdhathuṅganatāyā yuvārājadevaḥ | sattvapākārabhavadutāmāktirīhetor agrāhayan māṭham anantādhanapratigṛham* 'His disciple was the glorious and learned ascetic Prabhāvaśiva, worthy of celebration throughout the three worlds, the pedestal beneath whose feet was honoured by the dense rays of the crest-jewels on the heads of all the kings who prostrated themselves before him. Yuvārājadeva, the son of Mugdhathuṅga, skilled in policy, brought [him to his kingdom prompted] by an inborn predisposition and had him accept a monastery that he established [for him] with infinite wealth'. The damaged vv. 35–40 at the end of this inscription list the places that the king made over to Prabhāvaśiva: [*sthānaṃ*] . . . . . *ya kīrtanīyaṃ* punyānūtiyā mu-naye suwayam arcitāya | . . . nam ullikhita[śāsa]na . . . . . *keyāḥaṃsaṃrpatiḥ* [svayam ājaharāḥ] || 36 *pakk + . . . [tām?] tathā śārasaḍollakam | vakkāḍollakaraḥyauddhe ko + [nā]sapundikā* || 37 *+ . . . . . + puram khaṭtollikā | . nakalābhīrapalli + + + sarasvatī* || 38 [*eteṣāṃ*] dvādaśakaṇ ca kavacaśetram eva ca | sāmantapātakāś caiva vata + . . . + || 39 *+ + + yā[tallapaṭi] śāsanam* [sa]tram ity api | sa + + bhad-dhaci[ūrā] [kusu?]mva ca ku[khu]ḍiyā || 40 *rajoḡrāmānūti[n etān śā]sanatvena dat-*

of the Malkāpuram inscription, gave him a vast reward which that ascetic, after he had himself founded the monastery, transferred to it as its endowment.<sup>622</sup> In the next generation the Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja II (c. 945–970) brought in Hṛdayaśiva and gave him the monasteries attached to the temples of Vaidyanātha and Nohaleśvara, the second of which Hṛdayaśiva passed on to his disciple Aghoraśiva,<sup>623</sup> and the Bāṅgarh Prāśasti reports, as we have seen, that

*tavā[n] | + + + . . . [siddhā]ntapārāgāya gariyase || puram paurājanakīrṇam + + + + samastakam | bhaktiā samarpayam āsa śāsanatve[nā bhū]patiḥ.*

<sup>622</sup> PANTULU 1930, vv. 25c–26: *tasmā niṣphracetase galacurikṣmāpālacūḍāmaṇir grāmāṇāṃ yuvārājadevanpatir bhikṣām trilakṣīm dadau || 26 kṛtvā sa śaivamunir adbhuatāślamārthiḥ śrīgalakṣmāṭham udāram udāttacittāḥ | [tasyā]karasya nṛpadeśikamauktikānām vṛttim cakāra sakalām api tām trilakṣīm* 'To that [ascetic] whose mind was free of all craving the king Yuvārājadeva, that crest-jewel among the Kalacuri monarchs, gave a 300,000 endowment of villages. That Śaiva ascetic, the noble-minded embodiment of extraordinary good conduct, built the great Golakī [Golagī] monastery [there] and then made over the whole of that 300,000 living to that [monastery, which, ocean-like, has become] the source of [many] pearls in the form of Rājagurus'. MIRASHI (*CII* 4i, p. clviii) interprets the words *grāmāṇāṃ bhikṣām trilakṣīm* 'a 300,000 endowment of villages' to mean that 300,000 villages were given to Prabhāvaśiva and points out that if the report is correct it indicates that 'the king assigned to him one third of the total revenue of his home province of Dāhala, which, according to tradition, comprised nine lakhs of villages'. This would indeed be a vast endowment, so vast indeed that I find it hard to accept his interpretation. The Gurgi inscription mentions only about twenty villages and a town and the Malkāpuram inscription need mean only that the endowment (consisting of the revenue capacity of these places) was valued at 300,000 of some unspecified monetary unit. This alternative was already considered by PANTULU, the first editor of the Malkāpuram inscription. For though he proposed the interpretation later adopted by MIRASHI, he saw the difficulty it entails (1930, p. 52): 'The founder of the monastery was one Śadbhāva Śāmbhu who obtained a gift of three lakhs [sic] of villages (or was it a villages [sic] fetching an income of *Nishkas* (coins)?) from the Kalachuri king Yuvārājadeva and gave away those villages to the Maṭha as an endowment'. In favour of this more realistic reading is a parallel expression seen in an inscription of the sixth century from a site near Mrohaung in Arakan. There we learn of the gift to a Buddhist monastery of a *trisāhasiko grāmaḥ* (*EI* 37:13, l. 13: *deḡuttanāmā trisahasiko grāmo nīrṣṭo*), which can only mean 'a village which has [a revenue yield of] 3000'. As the editor, D.C. SIRCAR points out (p. 63), this refers 'apparently to the revenue income in the standard coin'.

<sup>623</sup> Bilihari inscription, *EI* 1:31, vv. 56–58: *56 kiṇṇ stūyate 'sau munipūṅgavaḥ 'thavā śrīcedicandro nṛpatiḥ kṛtadarah | sadvṛttadūtaprahaitar upāyanaiḥ pradarsya bhaktim vidhinānīyaya yaṃ || 57 śrīmāllakṣmaṇarājō 'pi tasmā sutapase svayam | māṭham śrīvaidyanāthasya bhaktiyuktāḥ samārpayat || 58 svikṛtyapi munir bhūyo māṭham śrīnūhaleśvaram | aghoraśivaśiṣyasya sādhuṇṛtasya dattavān* 'Or rather why should I praise that foremost among ascetics? [It suffices to report that] king Lakṣmaṇarāja, the moon of the Cedi dynasty, brought him [to his kingdom] after earnestly showing his devotion to him through presents sent by virtuous envoys, and then out of his devotion freely bestowed on that [saint] of great austerity the monastery of Vaidyanātha. The ascetic also accepted the monastery of Nohaleśvara and then gave it to his virtuous disciple Aghoraśiva'.



the Pala emperor Mahipala I (c. 977-1027) bestowed a lofty gilded monastery on the Guru Indrasiva at Sivavāṭī near Koṭivara.<sup>624</sup>

Moreover, we have several records of Gurus using their resources independently to establish further monasteries. Thus Prabhāvasiva's disciple Prāsāntasiva built a monastery at Chandreh for ascetics devoted to meditation<sup>625</sup> and a hermitage on the banks of the Ganges at Benares.<sup>626</sup> His disciple, the Rājaguru Prabodhasiva, also built a monastery at Chandreh;<sup>627</sup>

<sup>624</sup> Bangarh inscription, SIRCAR 1983b, v.9: *śrīmān indrasivah sphutam hari-haraprayām śivendrakṛtīm bibhrad vamsavibhūṣaṇam samabhavae chityo 'kya purayātmānaḥ* [yasmāi kāñcanapūjamañjiracitaprasādamerupharatāilāśābhamatham dadau ita mahipālo nripas tattvarat]. The disciple of that [Guru] devoted to piety was the illustrious Indrasiva, an ornament of his lineage, who did indeed have an appearance [matching his name, in that it was one] that embodied both Śiva and Indra [=Upendra, i.e. Viṣṇu] as though it were an image of Harihara [in which Śiva is both himself and Viṣṇu in a single body]. To him king Mahipala, [once he had become through initiation] a knower of [ultimate] reality, gave in this place a monastery that resembled Mt. Kailāsa, radiant with its Meru-like towers beautifully wrought with much gold.

<sup>625</sup> Chandreh inscription, CII 4i44, vv. 6a, 7: *prāsāntasivacandramas tad anu tasya śiṣyo 'bhavat ... 7 sa śāpanadasaṅgame bhramarāśailamūle 'tulam priyālatana-saṅgule phalamnālakandāśaṇaḥ* [ekāra viditam janair munisakhaḥ prāsāntasivam] *śvāpādapadapanktibhāḥ pavitrabhūtaḥ yā kṛti* The successor of [Prabhāvasiva] was his disciple, the moon-like Prāsāntasiva. ... Eating [nothing but] fruits, lotus stems, and bulbs, that wise friend of ascetics built the famous hermitage with his name [the Prāsāntasivam] at the foot, thick with a forest of Priyāla trees, of the Bhramara hill, at the confluence of the river Son, purifying the earth with the lines of his foot-prints; and the Gurgi inscription, EI 2221, vv. 8 and 13: *tasyāmalena tapasā ca tivarādhanaividyaśalena ca samastajagatipratihā* [śiṣyaḥ prakāśa-kamanāyagunakadhama śrīmatprāsāntasivacandramasunir baddhā ... 13 dāhōti-rasavarnanāśamitadrayārthīśārthasphāḥ śiddhasāṅgam acikarat tad oparaṁ yā śāntatīroparī] [yasmān yogajugāḥ pravīṇa aṅganadhisāntantāntarīyadhāyāḥ śāntāḥ śiddhasamādhiyā 'cchamatayo gacchanti mukheḥ padam] The disciple of this [Prabhāvasiva] was the ascetic Prāsāntasiva, who was known to all for his unblemished austerity and the power of his ever growing knowledge, the unique abode of the most desirable of qualities. ... [13.] He, who quenched the desire of a multitude of people in need of funds with fire-refined gold, built another [monastery] as a seat of Siddhas on the bank of the river Son, where masters of Yoga enter, abolish the torment of [all] hindrances through their ascetic restraint, and, when they are at peace, having achieved perfect concentration, reach with pure awareness the goal of liberation.

<sup>626</sup> Gurgi inscription, EI 2221, v. 14: *tīrthasnanānīśanodiyatadhīyam aṅgan-taśāntantayā yas tat kīrtitān muniḥ sursarattirite tapāḥśāṅgam* [yat saṁserya mahāśvarānaratā vārānastūṣaṇa mārgante bhavaśāṅgarāṇi guram api kṣipam] *yathā* [gopādam] That ascetic had a hermitage built on the bank of the Ganges for the complete repose of those whose minds were devoted to the practice of bathing at its Tīrthas. By resorting to it those living in Benares who are devoted to the worship of Śiva consider the ocean of transitory existence, vast though it is, to have dwindled into a mere puddle.

<sup>627</sup> Chandreh inscription, CII 4i44, v. 16a: *garukṛtasurāgrād ādā anuṁ matham*

Paṅgasiva, a spiritual descendant of Purandara through another line, built a monastery in Gwalior at a site now unknown;<sup>628</sup> and the Rājaguru Viśveśvaraśiva, after receiving a village in Andhra from the Kākatīya Queen Rudradevi, built a monastery there and renamed the village Viśveśvaragolaki after both himself and the original home of his preceptorial lineage in Chat-tisgarh, dictating that only a Guru of this lineage, one consecrated by another Guru of the same (*golakivaṇṣyākṛtābhīṣekāḥ*), should be allowed to preside over his foundation.<sup>629</sup> According to the same source he also established monasteries in Kālīśvarapura, Mandrakūṭanagara (v. 82), and Īśvarapura (v. 85), no doubt under the same conditions.

In this way there developed a far-reaching network of interconnected seats of Saiddhāntika Śaiva learning. Figures at the summit of this clerical hierarchy thus came to exercise a transregional authority whose geographical extent could be greater than that of any contemporary king. Viśveśvaraśiva while holding office as the Rājaguru of the Kākatīya Gaṇapati is said also to have been the Guru of the Kalacuri king, the Cola king, and the king of Mālava,<sup>630</sup> and praise of Śaiva

*unnatam svakam iva yataḥ śubhrābhīṣekam viśālam acikarat* 'Near the temple built by his teacher he built this broad and lofty monastery that resembles a white cloud, as though it were his own fame'.

<sup>628</sup> Gwalior Museum inscription, MIRASII 1962, v. 40: *matham devakulam kūpās tadāgānām ca pañcakam* [prākāro vāṭikā ...] A monastery, a temple, wells, five reservoirs, a circumvallation, 'an orchard (?) ....

<sup>629</sup> Malkāpuram inscription, PANTULU 1930, vv. 42-45 and v. 70: 69c-72: *devasya satrasya mathasya tasya grāmasya sarvasya ca so 'dhikāri* || 70 yo *golakivaṇṣyākṛtābhīṣekāḥ śāntāḥ śūcīḥ śāvarahasyavēdi* | *śaivāgāmānām api pāragamī śāntānāpālāḥ samaloṣṭahemā* || 71 *sarvānī bhūṣāny anukam-pamānāḥ samastavidyāsu kṛtāgāhāḥ* [mahisurāḥ śūlavatāṁ purgo bhavettarāṇi] *naīṣṭhikadeśikendrah* | 72 *viśveśvaraśivācārya dhīmān rājagurur* *svayam evam ājñāpayaḥ dhīraḥ śaivācāryasatāir vṛtāḥ* 'Surrounded by hundreds of Śaivācāryas the learned and noble Viśveśvaraśivācārya personally ordered that the superintendent of the [temple of the] god [Viśveśvara], the refectory, the monastery, and the whole settlement [that he had established] could only be an ascetic Guru whose consecration [to office] had been performed by [a Guru] of the lineage of Golagī, a brahmin outstanding among the virtuous, tranquil, honest, one who understands the esoteric doctrines taught by Śiva, who has mastered the Śaiva scriptures, a guardian of his initiatory line, for whom a clod of earth and gold are of equal value, compassionate to all living beings, and deeply versed in all branches of learning'.

<sup>630</sup> Malkāpuram inscription, PANTULU 1930, v. 38: *śrīcolasvaramālavakṣītipati rājāyacūḍāmaṇi yachigayau kim atāḥ param gaṇapatikṣītipatir yatsulak* [na śyāḥ kasya mude sa deśikavaraḥ śaivāgāmāmbhondhīḥ] *śrīviśveśvaradeśikāḥ kalacurikṣmāpāladiṣṭagurur* 'The Cola king and the king of Mālava, the crest-jewel among rulers, were his disciples. King Gaṇapati too was his [spiritual] son. Whom does this excellent Guru not delight? The Guru Viśveśvara, this ocean of [knowledge of] the Śaiva scriptures, was the Guru that [also] initiated the Kalacuri king'.



Gurus as venerated by a plurality of kings is common, even a commonplace.<sup>631</sup>

The wealth accumulated by these Gurus enabled them behave like royal patrons themselves, not only founding new monasteries but also bestowing land-grants on brahmins, rewarding poets, founding temples and new settlements, and providing the means of irrigation. The Badāun inscription reports that the Rājaguru Mūrtigaṇa "honoured brahmins in abundance with many gifts of land that he had received due to the devotion of his royal disciple";<sup>632</sup> the Malkāpuram inscription says concerning the Rājaguru Viśveśvaraśiva, a native of Gauḍa in eastern India: "Who can count the Gauḍa [brahmins] whose wishes he has granted, the ascetics who have received rich endowments [from him], the leading poets who have been delighted [with the rewards he has bestowed]?"<sup>633</sup> and the Bāngarh Prasasti relates that Sarvaśiva, the Rājaguru of the Pāla Nayapāla, gave [to brahmins] all the Great Gifts (*mahādānāni*) of the Purāṇic tradition, including the *tuḷāpuruṣadānam* in which the donor gives away his weight in gold, an activity that increasingly became emblematic of exemplary kings during the second half of the first millenium.<sup>634</sup> His brother Mūrtiśiva, to

whom he handed over his office as Rājaguru is likewise praised in that inscription for his abundant donations to brahmins.<sup>635</sup> Sarvaśiva's disciple Rūpaśiva is also praised there for his generosity to supplicants,<sup>636</sup> as is Īśānaśiva, the disciple of Praśāntaśiva, in the Gurgi inscription.<sup>637</sup> The predecessors of the Rājaguru Vimalaśiva receive similar praise for their pious largesse in that Guru's Jubbulore inscription, and Vimalaśiva himself is commended there for the support he gave to the brahmanical order by bestowing gifts on brahmins, and adorning the land with gardens, water-tanks, charitable feeding-houses (*saltrāṇi*), temples, and houses for brahmins.<sup>638</sup> In the Bāngarh Prasasti Vidyāśiva and Dharmāśiva are

<sup>631</sup> See, for example, in the colophonic verses of the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Hṛdayaśiva, concerning his Guru Īvaraśiva (see SANDERSON 2001, p.3): *āsit tatsaṃtātau munih śrī-īvaraśiva iti | jagatpatibhir nṛpaib| pūjitatadapāṅkajah|*; Chandrehe inscription (CII 4i:44), v.4b, concerning Purandara: *yatra purandaraḥ kṛtatapā jāñte gurur bhūbhūjām*; v.6c, concerning Prabhūśiva: *anekarṇpavanditah|*; Bilhāri inscription (CII 4i:45), v.50b, concerning Dharmāśiva: *bhūpālamaulimañikāntibhir arcitāṅghrih|*; v.51bcd, concerning Sadāśiva: *nṛpaib | yat-pādadvayam vandyam arcitam| śekharaṃśubhīh|*; v.64cd, concerning Hṛdayaśiva: *nṛpamukutaṇiaviṣṭair yasya māñkyacakrair akṣir| carapaṇāmāḥ kāntam ekāntavandam|*; Gurgi inscription (CII 4i:46), v.6, concerning Prabhūśiva: *tasyakhilakṣiṭipatiḥpranāttamāṅgacūdamāṇidyuticayārcitapādapiṭhaḥ| śīgyo babhūva bhuvana-troyakīrtanīyaḥ, śrīmatprabhūśivaśivānādamunir māñiḥ|* and v.17cd, concerning Īśānaśiva: *śrīśānaśambhur akhilāvanipālamaulimāṇidyutipiṣāṅgitapādapadmaḥ|*

<sup>632</sup> Badāun inscription, EI 1:10, l.15: *svaśīyavarabhūpālabhaktilabdhenā bhūriṇā | bhūmīdānena yo viprān pūjyām āsa bhūriṇā|*

<sup>633</sup> PANTULU 1930, v.39ab: *gauḍaḥ pūṇamanorathāḥ| kati kati prāptasṛiyas tēpasāḥ| saṃtūṣṭāḥ kavipuṅgavaḥ| kati kati pradhvastopāśā nṛpāḥ|*

<sup>634</sup> SIRCAR 1983b, v.11. The inscription lists *prthivīdānam*, *merudānam*, *viśvavakra-dānam*, *īśaṇīśāgaradānam*, *brahmāṇḍadānam*, *kalpavṛkṣadānam*, *[hiraṇya]kāmādhenu-dānam*, *bhavanadānam*, *godānam*, *parvatānāṃ dānam* (the ten *parvatadānāni* of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, with Meru in the centre), *sakalpa-drumabhadraghaṭadānam*, *hiraṇyāśva[ratha]dānam*, *hiraṇyastī[ratha]dānam*, *hiraṇyagarbhadānam*, *āśvadānam*, *tuḷāpuruṣadānam*, and *śrīnandīśvaradānam*. For an exhaustive presentation of the prescriptions of the Purāṇic and other sources on the "Great Gifts" see especially the fifth *Adhyāya* of the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri, written while he was a minister of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri (r.c. 1260–1270). The *śrīnandīśvaradānam* mentioned in this inscription is, I presume, the gift of a golden image of Nandikeśvara that is to accompany the gift of a thousand cows (*Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, vol.1, p.253). On

the drift away during our period from the sponsoring of Vedic (Śrauta) sacrifices to the bestowing of the Great Gifts such as the *tuḷāpuruṣadānam* see DIRKS 1976.

<sup>635</sup> SIRCAR 1983b, v.15cd: *bhrātā mūrtiśivaḥ sa mānyamahimo dānāmbusekair jagat-pātām yaḥ kṛtatvān...* 'His brother Mūrtiśiva, of venerable glory, washed the world clean with the water he poured when making donations'. The poet refers to the rite of pouring water on to the hand of the brahmin recipient, or, in his absence, on to the ground, that must accompany any formal act of donation (*Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, vol.1, p.92); and by saying that he cleansed the world with these libations he suggests that his donations to brahmins were frequent, widespread, and very numerous.

<sup>636</sup> SIRCAR 1983b, v.28: *śīgyaḥ sarvaśivasya dīptatapaśaḥ sarvārthacintāmaṇir ...| śrīmat rūpaśivo babhūva* The disciple who succeeded Sarvaśiva, [that Guru] of blazing ascetic power, was the illustrious Rūpaśiva, who was a wishing-granting jewel for all supplicants'.

<sup>637</sup> EI 22:21, v.18ab: ...[sarvārthi]nām yena śrīr gamitopabhogapadaviṃ dauryatyaduhkhacchidā 'He caused [his] wealth to be enjoyed by all supplicants, thus ending the torment of their poverty'.

<sup>638</sup> EI 25:33. The inscription precedes its account of the life of Vimalaśiva with some information about the predecessors in his Guru lineage. Unfortunately the section on his predecessors is lacunose because of damage to the stone, with the loss or partial loss of some of these Gurus' names. The inscription yields the following succession: ...N > Vimalaśiva > Astraśiva—in ll.5–6 I read ... (l.6) *vāstraśivabhidhānaḥ* where the editor, MIRASHI, reads ... (l.6) *vāstuśivabhidhānaḥ*: Astraśiva is a Siddhāntika initiation name but \*Vāstuśiva is not—> N? (if Astraśiva's successor was covered in the lost v.11) > N-śiva (the first part of the name has been lost: ...*śivaḥ śīgyaḥ* in l.6) ...N > Puruṣaśiva, Guru of Yaśaḥkarma (c. 1073–1123) > Śaktiśiva, Guru of Yaśaḥkarma's successor Gayakarma (c. 1123–1153) Kīrtiśiva, Guru of Gayakarma's successor Narasiṃha (c. A.D. 1153–1163) > Vimalaśiva, Guru of Narasiṃha's successors Jayasiṃha (c. 1153–1188) and, on the evidence of EI 40:46, Vijayasiṃha (c. 1188–1210). Of N-śiva we are told (v.11): + *śivaḥ śīgyaḥ puruṣārthāya saṃpadam | guṇānāṃ ca dhanānāṃ ca paropakṛtaye param* '[His] disciple N-śiva [employed] his abundant virtues only for the accomplishment of the goal of human existence and his abundant wealth only for the welfare of others'; and of his now nameless successor we learn ... (v.15) *prītiḥ pātre ratih tīrthe sthītiḥ pathi mate satām | bhaktih bhavē 'bhavāt tasya samasya* 'That ascetic's only delight was in [giving to] worthy recipients, his only attachment was to holy sites, his only adherence was to the path approved by the good, and his only devotion was to Śiva'. Of Vimalaśiva we learn in v.34cd: *[yacch]yaṃ vibudhagaṇo 'dhigamya dhātte vaidhuryaṃ na khalu [mahotsa]jodayaḥ* 'Enter-



praised for building temples,<sup>639</sup> and the Rājaguru Mūrtiśiva for building many<sup>640</sup> and excavating numerous reservoirs.<sup>641</sup> In the Gurgi inscription Prāsāntaśiva is said to have added a lofty temple of Śiva at Golagi to the north of one that had been established there by king Yuvarājadeva,<sup>642</sup> and in the Chandrehe inscription his successor Prabodhaśiva is said to have provided that place not only with a monastery but also with a water reservoir and a well.<sup>643</sup> The Gwalior Mu-

seum inscription records that Patangaśiva built a great temple of Śiva<sup>644</sup> and excavated four huge reservoirs.<sup>645</sup> The Jubbulpore inscription records that the Rājaguru Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva Kīrtiśvara in honour of his preceptor and predecessor, the Rājaguru Kīrtiśiva.<sup>646</sup> A Kannada inscription recording the death in 931 of the Śaiva Guru Tribhuvanakartaradeva *alias* Kaliyugarudra tells us that during the forty years of his rule as the pontiff of Āvani in Nolaṃbavādi he built fifty temples and two large water reservoirs,<sup>647</sup> and the Malkāpura inscription records that the Rājaguru Viśveśvara founded temples to house Śivas bearing his own name in Viśveśvaragolaki, Mandrakūṭanagara, Candravallinagara, Viśveśvaranagara, Kommūgrāma, and Uttarnasomaśilā, and also that he founded a town with his own name (Viśveśvarapura) at Ānanda.<sup>648</sup>

The exalted status and king-like behaviour of these Gurus is reflected in the fact that we have inscriptions in which they have been given royal, even imperial titles. This is so with Vāmadeva, also called Vāmaśambhu, the Rājaguru of a Kalacuri of Tripuri who was probably Gāṅgeyadeva (r. c. 1015–1041), on whom that king is said to have transferred his status as the monarch (*nijarājakaṣmi*) as payment for his service as his Guru (*gurudakṣiṇa*) when he set out on a cam-

near the [Bhramara] hill and a well with abundant water'.

<sup>644</sup> MIRASHI 1962, v. 29: *teneḍaṃ haramandiraṃ suśikharāṃ yat sarvataḥ sundarāṃ bhaktya kṛitam indudhāmādhavalāṃ kailāśāśailopamaṃ | ākalpaṃ śhīram astu tad bhuvī satām ānandadaṃ darśanād aśyaivamalam āgamat paripatim prāsadamūṛtya yaśaḥ* 'Out of devotion he had this temple of Śiva built with its fine towers, altogether beautiful, white as the light of the moon, resembling Mt. Kailāsa. May it endure on earth to the end of the aeon, delighting the virtuous when they see it. His spotless fame has been transformed to take material form as [this] temple'.

<sup>645</sup> MIRASHI 1962, vv. (30–)33: *sutaṭaṃ catuṣṭayaṃ idaṃ ruciraṃ ciraḥbhūṣaṇaṃ mahtadvatāḥ | vikāṭataraṭṭagānām acikaraḥ chripaṭaṅgeśaḥ* 'Patangaśiva made these four lovely and immense reservoirs with beautiful banks as an enduring ornament for the woman that is the earth'.

<sup>646</sup> EI 25-33, vv. 45–46: *[a]kikaraḥ candramauler mandiram ādarāt | guror kīrtiśivasyaṃ kīrtaye sukṛtāya ca || devāya kīrtiśvarasamjñitāya prādād amuṣmai jayasimhadevaḥ | bibhrad bhavā bhaktibharam gurau ca grāmān raveḥ parvaṇi n + dayān* 'He built out of reverence this temple of Śiva for the fame and religious merit of the Guru Kīrtiśiva. The god [installed in it] was named Kīrtiśvara; and King Jayasimha, having great devotion both to Śiva and [his] Guru, gave it [three] villages as \* ... (?) gifts on the sacred day of the sun's eclipse'.

<sup>647</sup> EC 10, Mb. 65: *svasti śrīmad-āvanayada śhānamāṃ nālvattu-varṣaman āld ayvattu-dēgulaṃ mādi piriya-eradu-kercya kaṭṭi śaka-varṣam eṇu-nū-embatta-mūṛ ādand utkrānti geḍu śrītribhuvanakartara-devaṃ kali-yuga-rudrāṅka rudra-loka-prāptan ādam* 'Hail! After governing the sacred domain of Āvani for forty years and building fifty temples and two large reservoirs, in the Śaka year 853 [the soul of] Tribhuvanakartaradeva *alias* Kaliyugarudra has ascended [from his body] and reached the world of Rudra'.

<sup>648</sup> PANTULU 1930, vv. 82–84, 88.

ing the shade [provided by the parasol] of this [patron] a multitude of brahmins was freed from the distress [of penury] on the splendid occasions of major festivals', in v. 38: *yayārthidivijarajadarāṇaṇaśād danāmbu[ḥ]bhir varidhate środdhā [rātridivam] vareṇa vidhinā dharmasya \*tantrir (?) iva [yo darīṣu epi sādaraṃ divijapatin akṣipāsobbhāharān dakṣo yajayate suvarṇasikāśatadrohigandam] sataih* 'At the sight of great brahmin supplicants his faith grows day and night along with the [frequency with which he does] the pouring of the water of donation, in accordance with the best procedure, like a \* ... (?) of religious duty. And on the days of the new moon [this] learned [Guru] bestows with devotion on the leading brahmins, their rich adornments never diminished, hundreds of fine ruddy cows shining with gold [adorned their horns]; v. 41b: *[dattaṃ] na yan nāsti tat | pātrāṇ ta na yad arcitā* 'there is no gift that he did not give, no worthy recipient whom he did not honour'; and v. 43: *udyānagaras[ī]satra[prāsādada]tījaveśmabhiḥ | bhūmih paribharaty aya na kair bhūḥbharair divam* 'With what rich adornments [created by him], with gardens, reservoirs, charitable feeding-houses, temples, and houses for brahmins, did [this] land not surpass heaven?'

<sup>639</sup> SIRCAR 1983b, v. 8ab: *śrīyo dharmasīvas tapanidhīr abhūt tasya vyadhād yo [bhūtam] prāsadam bhagavattīlocanaguror vārāṇasibhūṣaṇam* 'His disciple, the ascetic Dharmasīva, built a marvellous temple of the blessed three-eyed teacher [of the world] that beautified Benares'; SIRCAR 1983b, v. 7cd: *śrīvidyāśiva ity aśmaśritas sathkīrtisākhāsatapragbhāraṣṭhagītāmbaro munir abhūt tasmād yathārthāntayāḥ* 'After him came Vidyāśiva, an ascetic of boundless virtuous conduct, in whom the lineage fulfilled its purpose, who concealed the sky with the mass of the countless branches of his fine temples'; vv. 16–19.

<sup>640</sup> SIRCAR 1983b, v. 19: *maḥiyasīyam na tathā mahi yathā tapasvinas tasya mahān ikṣāyāḥ | tathā hi bhūmih kila kīrtibhir bhṛtā gato na tasyāśaya eṣa tsmayāḥ* 'This land though vast was not large enough for the ambition of this ascetic. The wonder is that it did not cease even when the earth was filled to capacity by his temples'.

<sup>641</sup> SIRCAR 1983b, v. 17ab: *...nirmītās citraṃ dikṣu vidikṣu yena pṛthivīhāra \*śrīyo* (conj. *śrīya* Ep.) *dīrghikāḥ* 'Wonderously he created reservoirs in all directions as a beautiful garland to adorn the land'.

<sup>642</sup> Gurgi inscription, EI 22-21, v. 11: *yena śrīyuvārājāśrītalasakailāśāśrīgopama-prāsaddottarataḥ sumerusikharasparidhi prasiddha[m] bhuvī | sadma śhāpitam itarayaṃ \*sakalatrailokyaviśmāpakaḥ [trailokya] cern* MIRASHI: *trailokya Ep.*) *yat svargam vrajatas tadīyayāśaḥ sōpānamūṛgyate* 'To the north of the temple built by Yuvarāja that resembled the shining peak of Mt. Meru he built his famous temple of Śiva. That [too] rivals the peak of Meru, causing wonder throughout the three worlds, a flight of steps, as it were, for his fame as it ascends to heaven'. The repetition of the comparison with Mt. Kailāsa seems lame, but its probable point is that the Guru's temple was no less impressive than the king's.

<sup>643</sup> Chandrehe inscription, CII 4i-44, v. 16cd: *anugiram aṭho śinduluprakhyam tadāgam acikṣhat pravarasādhim kupaṃ cātra prabodhaśiḥ dāmi* 'Then here [after building the monastery] the ascetic Prabodhaśiva excavated an ocean-like reservoir



paign of world conquest. Beginning with the inscriptions of his son and successor Karpa (c. 1041–1071) the Kalacuri rulers of this kingdom are described as meditating on the feet of this Vāmadeva, to whose name are prefixed the imperial epithets *paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaprameśvaraparamamahēśvaraśrī*. A variant of these titles, *samadhigatapañcamahāśabdaparamabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaprameśvara*, is found in Nalambavāḍi records attached to the names of two other Saiddhāntika Gurus, namely Brahmasiva in an inscription of c. 870 and Varuṇasiva in one of 936. Similarly, but more modestly, an inscription of 1331 on a step-well in the vicinity of the Acaleśvara temple on Mt. Abu tells us that it was constructed during the victorious reign of the great ascetic *rājāśrī*-Sarveśvara during the victorious reign of the ruler *rājāśrī*-Tejāśimha of Candrāvati.<sup>649</sup>

<sup>649</sup> For these imperial and royal titles attached to the names of Śaiva Gurus see D.C. SIRCAR in *IE* 30:10, pp. 46–51. There he refutes the claims expressed by V.V. MIRASHI in *IE* 27:29. These are (1) that Vāmadeva is a king Vāmarājadeva (seen by him alone) in the Saugor inscription of Śaṅkaragana, which has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the eighth century, (2) that this king should be assigned to the second half of the seventh century, and (3) that the references in inscriptions of the later Kalacuris to these king's devotion to [the memory] of Vāmadeva, should be referred to this much earlier monarch as the founder of their dynasty. SIRCAR removes Vāmadeva from the Saugor inscription, reading *vāvarāja* rather than *vāmarāja* and citing other examples of *vāva*- or *bāva*- in inscriptions, and then cites these examples of imperial or royal epithets bestowed on Śaiva Gurus to counter MIRASHI's argument that their being prefixed to the name of Vāmadeva proves that he was a king not a Guru. I side with SIRCAR. His view has the great strength that it accords (1) with the testimony of the Malkāpuram inscription of 1261/2, which, referring to Vāmasambhu as the third Guru in succession after Sadbhāvasambhu, the first pontiff of the Maṭha at Golagī, reports that the Kalacuri kings were being praised (*praśamsyante*) [in their Praśastis] up to the present as worshippers of his feet (PANTULU 1930, v.28: *atha nṛpaśekharamālāḍīlapādo 'tra vāmasambhur abhūt | adyāpi kalacurīśa yaccaraṇārādhakāḥ praśamsyante*)—in the inscriptions of the Kalacuris of Tripuri from Karṇa onwards they are said to be *vāmadevapādānudyāta*—, (2) with the fact that there is no reference to a king Vāmadeva in any of the inscriptions of those kings, and (3) with the fact that the source which reports the Kalacuri king's bestowing his *rājolakṣmī* on Vāmadeva refers to the latter as an ascetic (*sāhasikas tapasvine vāmadevanāmnne nijarājolakṣmīm gurutakṣiṇāyai dattvā sarvām bhūmim jetum praśthitavān*). SIRCAR convincingly identifies the Kalacuri king here called Sāhasika as Gāṅgeyadeva on the grounds that the latter was both an illustrious conqueror and known as Sāhasāṅka 'he who has the cognomen Sāhasa'. This source, cited by SIRCAR (*IE* 30:10, p. 50), is a paraphrase in Jonaṛāja's commentary on the *Prthivīrājajīya* of Jayānaka of a verse of that work now lost in a lacuna.

The inscription referring to Brahmasiva is *EC* 10, Śrinivāsapura taluk, no. 27 (p.346). SIRCAR (*IE* 30:10, p.49) wrongly gives the name as Bhramarasiva and the page reference as 376. The relevant part of the inscription is: *svasti samadhigatapañcamahāśabda pallavānvaya śrīprthivīvallava pallavānvayakulatilakam śrīmat-nalambādhirājar prthivīrāja*

Clearly the Śaiva Rājaguru had become a far grander figure than the king's brahmanical chaplain, the Rājapurohita, who was tied to the service of a single king and was unambiguously his subordinate. Yet, it appears that the Śaivas did not rest with this but also sought to encroach on the territory of that lesser office. For the *Netratra* shows the existence of a further class of Śaiva officiants who were to function in almost all the areas traditionally reserved for that officiant: the performance of the king's recurrent duties to worship the various deities on the days assigned to them, to celebrate the major annual royal festivals of the Indrolsava and Mahānavamī, to protect the royal family through rites to ward off ills, to restore them to health after illness, to ward off or counter the assaults of dangerous supernaturals, to empower through lustration (*nīrājanam*) the king's elephants, horses and weapons of war, and to protect the king with apotropaic rites before he eats, sleeps, and engages in his regular practice of martial skills.<sup>650</sup>

We see here one of several instances in which the Śaivas used their authority to colonize downwards, producing modifications of their ritual procedures for this purpose. These adaptations inevitably entailed loss of status for those that implemented them, but we should understand that this did not affect those at the summit of the clerical hierarchy, the king-like Rājagurus, but only the humbler clones that extended their authority into domains that those Gurus would not deign to enter.

*geye svasti samadhigatapañcamahāśabda paramabhaṭṭā[ra]ka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara ātaniya mata . . . pana . . . nṛpa śivaśāstratrapovānārūga śrīpādhiśāgrāmaṇirgata bhagavatpādāikaśaraṇa śrīmat-brahmaśivācāryaṇa*. The inscription referring to Varuṇasiva (Varuṇasivabhaṭṭāra) is *SII* 9, 1.24 (*ARE* 759 of 1915) from Guṇimorabagalu in the Anantapur District. It speaks of him as the pontiff of the Nōnambesvarara temple, as the ruler of Paljivāluḍu, and as the Mahāśāmantādhipati, that is to say, as a feudatory of the highest rank, of king Bīraṇolamba Aṇṇayyadeva of the Nōlamba-Pallava dynasty (= Aṇṇiga, c. 932–940). The Nōnambesvarara is probably the imposing temple at Hemāvati now known as Dodḍesvara (COHEN 1989, p.60, and p. 63, note 36). He is also mentioned in an inscription on the Maṇḍapa of the Dodḍesvara temple, which gives the information that he was the disciple of Rudraśivācārya. On Varuṇasiva see COHEN 1998, pp.24, 35, and 41–42, who plausibly concludes that he was Aṇṇiga's Rājaguru. The initiation-names Brahmasiva, Varuṇasiva, and Rudraśiva reveal that these Gurus were Saiddhāntikas. The relevant portion of the inscription from Mt. Abu has been published by SIRCAR within this discussion (*IE* 30:10, p. 46).

<sup>650</sup> The purpose, date, and provenance of the *Netratra* are the subject of SANDERSON 2005b.



## SAIVISM AND THE ROYAL TEMPLE

The second element of the early medieval process to which I have drawn attention is the proliferation of land-owning temples. All but the most ephemeral sovereigns during this period, both in the subcontinent and in Southeast Asia, gave material form to the legitimacy and solidity of their power by building grand temples in which images of their chosen God were installed, animated, named after themselves (*svanāmnā*), and endowed with land and officiants to support their cult. As we have seen, the great majority of these temples enshrined Śiva [in the form of a *Līṅga*].

The Śaivas of the *Mantramārga* provided specialized officiants and rituals to establish these Śivas, developing in course of time a secondary body of scriptural authorities, the *Pratiṣṭhāntantras*, devoted exclusively to this domain, setting out the rituals of installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) and defining the norms for the form of the *Līṅga*, the iconography of ancillary images, and the architectural design of the various temple types.<sup>651</sup> Moreover, they asserted the principle that the Śaiva *Sthāpaka*, the specialist who performs these rituals, is competent not only in the Śaiva domain but also on all the levels that the Śaivas ranked below it. Thus they claimed that he is empowered to officiate in the construction and consecration of non-Śaiva deities such as Viṣṇu following the *Pañcarātra*.<sup>652</sup> This

<sup>651</sup> None of the early works of this class have been published. Those known to learned authors before the end of the eleventh century and surviving in manuscripts are the *Mayasamgraha*, not to be confused with the published *Mayamata*, a later south-Indian work, the *Pīṅgalāmata*, the *Mohacūḍottara*, and the *Devyāmata*, which declares itself the *pratiṣṭhāntantram* of the *Nīlāvata*. Four other works of this type, not known to have survived, are cited by the Kashmirian *Vidyākāṇṭha* around the beginning of the eleventh century in his commentary on the *Mayasamgraha*: the *Pratiṣṭhāpārametara*, the *Nandikeśvaramata*, the *Paṭāmāta*, and the *Pratiṣṭhāsamuccaya*, the last of which was probably a *Paddhati* rather than a scripture. On all these texts see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 440–442.

<sup>652</sup> See, e.g., *Brhatsaṁhitā*, B. I. 108v4: *bauddhavaigaiṣaṇapāṇḍitaḥ saurakṣālamukhādigu | śaivāḥ sarvādhikārī sūn na śaive 'mī kathamāna* 'The Śaiva [Guru] has competence that extends into all [religious systems], the Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava, *Pañcarātra* [Pāsupata], Saura, Kālamukha, and others; but [Gurus of] those have absolutely no competence to act in the Śaiva [system]; *Kāmika*, *Pūrvabhāga* 1.121c–126, on the authority of the Śivabrahmaṇas, the married Śaiva brahmins who alone were competent to officiate for others: *śaivāḥ sarvādhikārī sūy eva-kiṣye ca paratra ca* || 122 *śaivāḥ sarveṣu kuruṇti ye gṛhasthā dvijottamāḥ | yāmala mītrāntre ca kṣāle pañcarātrake* || 123 *bauddhe cārahmate caiva śākle vai-dike 'pi ca* | *anyeṣu api ca nāgēṣu tattacāśtrāḥ svaśāstrāḥ* || 124 *śaivāḥ kuruṇti dīkṣayā talingasthāpāradhikam | mukhyatvād hi śaivāṣu mukhamāhā-nyatō 'pi ca* || 125 *adhikāro 'ty sarvatra nānyeṣāṃ dvādarāṇe | tasmāt parā-tritam ātmāntaram sthāpanam yajnam tathā* || 126 *śaivāḥ pīṅga kartavyam anyeṣāṃ svāntaram eva hi | parāntaram api kuryāc cet 'lobhena* (em.) *lopena* Ed.] *nṛpatas tathā | tādṛgprasya ca nāḥ | syād acaire na saṁpādyat* 'The Śaiva is competent in

universalization of their authority, which is backed by learned theory of the relation of the Śaiva with the other bodies of scriptural injunction, seems not have been merely theoretical. For the Śaiva *Paddhati* literature contains instructions for the consecration of Viṣṇus, as we have seen in the case of the *Paddhati* of *Somasambhu*,<sup>653</sup> and Vaiṣṇava sources protest at this encroachment, insisting that images of Viṣṇu installed by Śaivas should be reconsecrated.<sup>654</sup>

all [systems], both his own and others. Married Śaivas, the foremost of brahmins, can officiate in all (the systems, namely) the *Yāmala* and *Mātrāntara*, the *Kāpālika*, the *Pañcarātra*, the *Buddhist*, the *Jaina*, the *Lākula*, the *Vaidika*, and yet others, using the scriptures of these systems in accordance with their own. [Such] Śaiva brahmins perform initiations and the like, the installation of images, and so forth [in these other systems], because the teaching of Śiva is superior [to all others] and because the mouth [of *Puruṣa*] has been glorified [in the *Puruṣasūtra* as the part of his body from which the brahmins, as the highest caste-class, were created]. [The Śivabrahmaṇas] is competent to act in all [systems], but not others in the teaching of Śiva. Therefore the Śivabrahmaṇas [alone] may worship and install [images] both for others and himself. Others may act only for themselves. If out of greed [anyone other than a Śivabrahmaṇas] performs rituals for the benefit of others, thus usurping the exclusive right of the Śivabrahmaṇas, then without doubt both the king and his kingdom will swiftly be destroyed'.

<sup>653</sup> See *Somasambhupaddhati* vol. 4, pp. 294–311 (*riṣṇusthāpanavidhiḥ*).

<sup>654</sup> In his *Pañcarātrarakṣā* (pp. 26–27) *Vedāntadeśika*, the influential Śrīvaiṣṇava of the fourteenth century (*ET* 13, p. 222), quotes a passage from the Śaiva *Kāraṇatantra* that is more or less identical with 1.121c–124 of the passage of the *Kāmika*, *Pūrvabhāga* cited above, and after asserting that it is inadmissible as evidence because all Śaiva Tantras are condemned by Vedic authorities quotes a passage from the south-Indian *Pañcarātrika Pādmasaṁhitā* (*Caryapāda* 19.128b–130) to the effect that if a Viṣṇu has been installed with the system of the Śaivas it must be re-installed following the system of the *Pañcarātra* and purified by bathing with a thousand vases. See also *Viṣṇukṣeṣasaṁhitā* 39.283–285: *sthāpīte raudramārgēṇa pūjyamāne dīne dīne | hitvā raudravidhānam tu sarveṣāṃ hitkṣōmyayā* || *grānavrādhikaram puṇyam rājābhīṣṭavardhanam | tasmāt sarvapravṛttena hitvā raudram tu tatṣaṇāt | sthāpayet sātātvanātha vidhinā pūjayed dharim | tasmāt sarvapravṛttena na kuryāt tantrasaṁkaram* 'If [a Viṣṇu] has been installed following the Śaiva procedure and is in daily worship [following the same] then, desiring the welfare of all, one should abandon the Śaiva procedure and [adopt] the holy [Vaiṣṇava procedure] that will cause the village, the king, and the brahmins to prosper. Therefore one should abandon the Śaiva rites immediately and scrupulously re-install the Viṣṇu with the *Pañcarātrika* ritual and worship it [with the same thereafter]. So one must take great care to avoid [this] contamination of the [Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava] systems of worship; 39.305–306: *jātsamkarapānenaiva jagac cāṇḍālātām vrajat | tantrasamkarapānenaiva rājāraṣṭram vināśyati* || *rāṣṭram śarīram rājās tu rājā jīvāt sa ucyat | rāṣṭrakṣaye kṣayo rājāḥ tasmāt rakṣyam dṛayam budhaiḥ* 'People become untouchables through the contamination of castes. Through the contamination of the systems of worship the king and kingdom are destroyed. [The scriptures] teach that the kingdom is the body and the king its soul. [So] when the kingdom is destroyed, so is the king. The wise, therefore, should guard both [by preventing the encroachment of the Śaivas into the *Pañcarātrika* domain]. Śaiva ritual is called *raudra*- in the first of these passages



The involvement of the Śaivas of the Mantramārga in the temple cult covered in early Śaiva scriptural sources and all the early Paddhatis up to at least the twelfth century does not extend beyond the performing of the rituals necessary to initiate the cult by consecrating the images and the temples that house them. The texts are silent on the nature of the worship that would be performed before those images once the Śaiva Guru had completed his task. It would appear, therefore, that the temple worship was in the hands of officials of a different kind. However, the texts lagged behind reality in this regard. For at some point, well before the Śaiva literature was prepared to register this fact, there were Śaivas of the Mantramārga working as the priests that performed the regular rituals in the Śaiva temples. The new practice is first attested in the Far South in the late seventh century. We learn from a grant of the Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I (r.c. 655–960) that a certain Anantaśivācārya, whose name makes it very probable that he was an initiated Saiddhāntika official,<sup>655</sup> was appointed as the priest with hereditary rights to perform the ritual of worship (*devakarma*) in the temple of Śiva Vidyāvinīṭapallavaparamēśvara established with his name by the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I alias Vidyāvinīṭa.<sup>656</sup>

The persistent disjunction during this period between what was prescribed for Śaivas and what was being done by some of them is due, I propose, to the fact that functioning as a priest in a temple, and therefore living off the endowment of the deity in return for one's work, carried a loss of status with which the older tradition was unwilling to be associated. According to brahmanical sources any brahmin who persists in such work for three years is considered to

in keeping with the mildly disparaging south-Indian Vaiṣṇava practice of referring to Śiva as Rudra. Cf. the expression *rudrākālyupajivakāḥ* cited here, p. 278 and the rule of the *Śaṅḍilyasūtri* quoted by Vedāntadeśika in his *Pañcarātrarakṣā* (p. 62) that Vaiṣṇavas should keep far away from temples of Buddha, Rudra, and the like (*buddharudrādivasatiṃ śmaśānaṃ śavam eva ca | aṭaviṃ rājadhāniṃ ca dūrataḥ parivarjayet*).

<sup>655</sup> Saiddhāntika Śaiva initiated brahmins have initiation-names (*dikṣānāma*) that end in -śiva (with -śambhu or, less commonly, -śivara-īśa or -śaṅkara as synonyms) as the second of their two components, and those of those who have been consecrated to officiate by receiving the *ācāryābhīṣekaḥ* are referred to as N-śivācārya, a practice that has continued into modern times. Other Anantaśivācāryas are the author of the *Siddhāntasārāvāṇīyā*, one of the Śivācāryas, probably 95 in all, among 108 12th-century labelled images at Dārāśuram in Tamilnāḍu (SRINIVASAN 1987, vol. 1:17, no. 60), and one mentioned in an inscription of 1571 at the Vāṭāraṇyēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅḍu (ARE 497 of 1906 [Appendix B: stone inscriptions copied in 1905]) as a disciple of Ponnambala Dharmasivācārya and Guru of Immaṇḍi Dharmasivācārya.

<sup>656</sup> The Kūraṃ plates of Paramēśvaravarman I (r.c. 655–90): MAHALINGAM 1998:46, ll. 55–57 (Sanskrit) and ll. 84–88 (Tamil).

have lost his brahmin status and is then known as a Devalaka.<sup>657</sup> He is described as an *upabrahmaṇaḥ* 'a sub-brahmin' or, even more disparagingly, as a *brāhmaṇacandālāḥ* 'a brahmin untouchable';<sup>658</sup> and this loss of status is confirmed in modern times in the way that the Smārtha brahmins, the dominant community in Tamilnāḍu have viewed the Ādiśaiva community that provides the priests who after undergoing Saiddhāntika Śaiva initiation (*dikṣā*) and consecration as *Ācāryas* (*ācāryābhīṣekaḥ*) perform the worship in the Śiva temples of the region. They were forbidden to live in brahmin streets and the Smārtas would not intermarry or interdine with them.<sup>659</sup> The Ādiśaivas, as one might expect, resisted this condemnation, arguing in their scriptural productions and in learned exegesis that it applies only to brahmins other than members of their endogenous community, more precisely that the three-year rule applies to Śaiva initiates other than themselves. Strengthening the brahmanical position they held that Śiva has ruled that ordinary, uninitiated brahmins who work as temple-priests will forfeit their status after only six months.<sup>660</sup> As modern practice

<sup>657</sup> Yāmuna, *Āgamaprāmānya*, pp. 15–16: *tathā ca devalaḥ "devakosopajit yaḥ sa devalaka ucyate" iti | tathā "bhṛtyartham pūjayed devaṃ trīni varṣāṇi yo dūjah | sa vai devalako nāma sarvakarmasu garhitāḥ" iti 'And Devala [teaches]: "One who lives off the wealth of a god is called a Devalaka", and: "Any brahmin who does the worship of a god for his living for three years is called a Devalaka, and is condemned in all rites". By 'condemned in all rites' the text means that such a brahmin must not be chosen as an officiant in any brahmanical ritual or invited as a participant in a Śrāddha.*

<sup>658</sup> Atri cited in *Āgamaprāmānya*, p. 16: *tathā ca viśadataram amṣām evopabrahmaṇyaṃ varṇayati atriḥ: "āhvāyāk devalakāḥ kalpadevalakā gaṇabhogadevalakā bhāgavataḥ trīti caturthaḥ. etā upabrahmaṇāḥ" iti 'And Atri makes it absolutely clear that it is those that are sub-brahmins, when he says: "Couriers, Devalakas, Kalpadevalakas, Gaṇabhogadevalakas, and fourth, he who lives by being a Bhāgavata: these are sub-brahmins"; and Mahābhārata 12.77.8: āhvāyāk devalakā nakṣatragrāmāyājakaḥ ete brāhmaṇacandālā mahāpathikapāṇamāḥ 'All the following are brahmin untouchables: couriers, temple-priests, those who perform worship to the asterisms, those who perform worship on behalf of a whole village, and, fifth, those who undertake long journeys'.*

<sup>659</sup> See THURSTON 1909, p. 51, and FULLER 1984, pp. 49–71. The Dikṣitars, the priests of Śiva at Cidambaram, rank above the Ādiśaivas, probably because they are the trustees of their temple; but they are still considered inferior to non-priestly brahmins; see FULLER 1984, p. 192, n. 3.

<sup>660</sup> Vedājñāna II, *Ātmārthapūjopaddhati* A, p. 123 and B, p. 99, quoting the *Viratantra* and the *Samtānatantra*: *viratantra "bhṛtyartham sarvadakālam ādiśaivaḥ śivaṃ yajet | tac ca svadharmamūṣhīṇaṃ na doṣāya prakālpate | adikṣitas caturvedā śivāliṅgaṃ na saṃspṛśet | dikṣitas cāpi yo vipro bhṛtyartham tu na pūjayed | ātmārthapūjām kuryāt "parārtham naiva (A: parārthāṇ caiva B) pūjayed" | samtāne "adikṣito 'pi yo viprah saṃmāsam tu śivaṃ spṛśet | so 'pi devalakāḥ prakṛtaḥ sa nārho devapūjane | dikṣitas cāpi yo vipro "bhṛtyartham (em.: pratyartham A: bhṛtyānāced B) vatsaratrayāt | pūjayed yadi deveṣaṃ so 'pi devalako bhaved" iti 'Viratantra: An Ādiśaiva may worship Śiva for a living permanently; and that, since it is his reli-*



reveals, this counterargument had no effect on the Smārtha majority; and, indeed, it is obvious that its real purpose was rather to defend their professional rights against encroachment by others, rights that they took care to write into their scriptures.<sup>601</sup> For, no doubt in consequence of the efflorescence of the Śaiva temple cult under the Coja emperors, we find a new wave of Śaiva scriptures appearing in the South, in which the ceremonial life of the temple and the duties and rights of its priests are regulated, and, indeed, form their principal subject matter. Citations from the majority of the scriptural texts of this kind do not appear before the works of Vedājñānaguru II, composed during the second half

gious duty, cannot be sinful [for him]. An uninitiated [brahmin], [even if he is one] who knows [all] four Vedas, may not [even] touch the Līṅga of Śiva; and even a brahmin who has been initiated may not worship [it] for a living [unless he is an Ādiśaiva]. He should worship [Śiva] for his own benefit [as a private individual]. He may not also worship him for the benefit of others [as a priest in the temple]. *Samtāna*: If an uninitiated brahmin has physical contact with a Śiva [installed in a fixed Līṅga in a temple] for six months he is called a Devalaka and is disqualified from offering worship to [any] deity [thereafter]. Even an initiated brahmin becomes a Devalaka if he [is not an Ādiśaiva but] worships Śiva for a living, once three years [of his doing so] have passed; and Kaṇṇapaśvaraśāstrīyācārya, *Kriyākramadyotikāyākyā*, p. 80, ll. 4–7, quoting the *Vīratānta*: *adikṣitaḥ catuṣvedī na sptīen nāpi cārcayet* [bhṛtyartham paramēśānam dikṣātrahitā janāḥ] [‘śaṁśād yānti (em.: śaṁśātyānti Cod.) pātitya te ca devalakāḥ smṛtāḥ] [trīni varṣāni bhṛtyartham śthirāṅge] [‘hi dikṣitaḥ (em.: hy adikṣitaḥ Cod.)] [pājayed yadi] [‘vipras (corr.: vipras Cod.)] *tu sa vai devalako bhaved iti* [‘An uninitiated [brahmin], [even if he is one] who knows [all] four Vedas, may not touch and worship Śiva for a living. The uninitiated fall from their caste after six months [if they do so]. It is they that are known as Devalakas. If an initiated brahmin [who is not an Ādiśaiva] performs the worship [of Śiva] in a fixed Līṅga for a living for three years, that is to say, as a priest serving in a temple, then he [too] will become a Devalaka’. In the older, north-Indian literature the *Prāyascittapāṭala* of the *Devāśāsthasa Saṁcchanda*, quoted by Hṛdayaśiva in his *Prāyascittasamuccaya*, f. 92v–4, defines Devalakas when considering the matter of contamination by them, as those who as priests (*bhṛtyakāḥ*) live off the Moon-god, Brahmā, the Sun-god, Skanda, Viṣṇu, the God-*de*, or the Mother: *sonabrahmariskandaviprasādayaḥ ca mātaraḥ* [‘upajivanti ye devī pājayed tu bhṛtyakāḥ] [‘te vai devalakāḥ teṣāṁ prāyascittam vadāmy aham. The omission of Śiva from this list implies that it is only the priests of other gods that fall from caste. Likewise, defending the Pāñcārātrika priests of Viṣṇu’s temples against the same consequence, Yāmuna argued, citing Vyāsa, that it is only those who earn their live off Rudra (i.e. Śiva) and Kālī by serving as their priests that become Devalakas (*bhaved devalako yo vai rudrakālyapajivakāḥ*). Vaiṣṇava temple-priests do not become Devalakas, because they have been consecrated for their work by initiation. See Yāmuna, *Āgama-prāmāṇya*, pp. 15–17 (the accusation), and pp. 156–157 (the rebuttal).

<sup>601</sup> See, for example, the *Kāmika* cited here p. 274, the *Vīra* and *Raurava* cited in BRUNNER 1964, p. 468, n. 11, and the *Yogaja*, *Cintya*, *Vīra*, *Samtāna*, and other Āgamas cited by Vedājñānaguru II in his *Ātmārthapāpāpaddhati* A, pp. 121–123 and II, pp. 97–99.

of the sixteenth century.<sup>602</sup> But some others are already being cited in the thirteenth, and one in the twelfth.<sup>603</sup>

Here too, of course, the royal connection is maintained and carefully nurtured. Thus the ceremonial repertoire of these temples included special rituals for the king’s protection (*rājaraṁśā*),<sup>604</sup> and temple festivals (*utsavaḥ*) were often timed to coincide with the day of his natal asterism or of that of a member of his family.<sup>605</sup> Indeed the texts place a great emphasis on the connection between the temple and the welfare of the ruler and his kingdom, warning repeatedly that while the proper maintenance of the temple and its ceremonies will benefit both, deviations or neglect will have dire consequences for them. This duty to maintain the *status quo* naturally included that of recognizing the exclusive hereditary rights of the members of this priestly community.<sup>606</sup>

The Ādiśaivas are the only endogamous community of Saiddhāntika Śaiva temple-priests for which we have evidence and they seem not to have operated beyond south India. But it seems likely that there were parallel developments in other parts of the subcontinent, evidence of which has been lost or not yet come

<sup>602</sup> These scriptures that first appear in the works of Vedājñānaguru are the *Aṁsumat*, the *Ajita*, the *Kāsmīratānta*, the *Cintyaśiṣva* / *Cintyaśiṣvasādākhya*, the *Dipta*, the *Devikāṭottara*, the *Bhima*, the *Makuta*, the *Mukhabimba*, the *Yogaja*, the *Raurava*, the *Vijaya* (*Vijayottara*), the *Videṣara*, the *Vīra*, the *Samtāna*, the *Sahasra*, the *Siddha*, the *Sūkṣma*, and the *Skandakāṭottara*. The works of Vedājñānaguru in which they are cited are the *Ātmārthapāpāpaddhati*, *Dikṣadarsa*, and *Saivāgama-paribhāṣamāñjari*. For his date see DAGENS 1979, pp. 6–7.

<sup>603</sup> The extant *Kāmika* is perhaps the first work of this kind to be cited in a dateable work. Substantial passages found in it are quoted without attribution in the *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānaśiva, a teacher of Trilocanaśiva and therefore a near contemporary of Aghoraśiva, who completed his *Kriyākramadyotikā* in 1157. The next earliest known work in which there are citations from such scriptures is the *Śivapūjastavavyākhyā* composed by a nameless author in the thirteenth century, probably in its second half. This date follows from the fact that he identifies himself as the great-great-grandson of the same Trilocanaśiva. He cites the *Kāraṇa*, the *Acintya*, the *Suprabheda*, the south-Indian *Paṇṣkara*, and the *Vātulaśuddhākhya*. I derive this information concerning the citations in the *Śivapūjastavavyākhyā* and Jñānaśiva’s unattributed citations of the *Kāmika* from a lecture given by Dr. Dominic Goodall in the Early Tantra Workshop held in Kathmandu in September 2008. For the relationships between Aghoraśiva, Jñānaśiva, and Trilocanaśiva see GOODALL 2000 and for confirmation of the date of Aghoraśiva’s *Kriyākramadyotikā* see GOODALL 1998, pp. xiii–xvii, fn. 24. No Sanskrit Saiddhāntika works have yet been identified which can be dated within the period of three centuries between the author of the *Śivapūjastavavyākhyā* and Vedājñānaguru II.

<sup>604</sup> Chapters devoted to this protective temple ritual for the king are found in such south-Indian Śaiva texts as the *Sūkṣmāgama* (pp. 290–297: *rājaraṁśāvidhiḥ*), and the *Diptāgama* (pp. 211–215: *rājaraṁśāvidhipatalaḥ*).

<sup>605</sup> See DAVIS and ORR 2007, p. 91, for epigraphical evidence of such arrangements.

<sup>606</sup> See, for example, the passage of the *Kāmika* cited above, p. 274.



to light.<sup>667</sup>

# ŚAIVISM AND NEW SETTLEMENTS

The early Śaiva Pratiṣṭhāntantras show that the authority of the Śaiva Śthāpaka was to extend to the creation of the palaces of their kings. Among the early Pratiṣṭhāntantras the *Mayasaṃgraha*, *Mohacūḍottara*, and *Piṅgālamata*,

<sup>667</sup> Against the view that the Ādiśaiva caste is peculiar to Tamil Nadu one might cite the fact that the Ādiśaivas are mentioned the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, a work composed in the eleventh century far to the north (at the end of the *Pavitrā-rohānavidhi*): *pañcayojanasaṃsthe 'pi pavitraṃ gurusamnidhau | kurvita vidhinānena labhate vāñchitaṃ phalam | sarvaṃ vai to ādiśaivānām dikṣitānām śivoditam | paropakāraśilena śrīmātā somaśambhunā | kriyākāṇḍakramāvalyaṃ pavitrakavidhiḥ kṛtaḥ*. However, the line is not in the edition based on Kashmirian manuscripts (see *Karmakāṇḍakramāvalī* vv.494c-496b: *pañcayojanasaṃsthe 'pi pavitraṃ gurusamnidhau || kurvita vidhinānena labhate vāñchitaṃ phalam | adhīśaivāśāstreṇa kṛto 'yaṃ somaśambhunā || karmakāṇḍakramāvalyaṃ pavitrakavidhiḥ sphuṭaḥ*) nor in the Nepalese transmission (see *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* f.22v4-5: *pañcayojanasaṃstho 'pi pavitraṃ gurusamnidhau | kurvita vidhinānena labhate vāñchitaṃ phalam | paropakāraśilena śrīmātā somaśambhunā | kriyākāṇḍakramāvalyaṃ pavitrakavidhiḥ kṛtaḥ*). It is found only in BRUNNER's edition and the Devakoṭṭai edition, which her edition reproduces here. It rests, therefore, exclusively on the evidence of Grantha manuscripts from the south. Evidently, then, one must suspect that the line has been interpolated in Tamil Nadu by a redactor in the Ādiśaiva community. Its lack of intelligible connection with what precedes and follows strengthens this suspicion.

I have not seen the term Ādiśaiva in any inscription. There the officials of the Śiva temples are always termed *śivabrāhmaṇaḥ* or *śivadūjāḥ*. That term first occurs to my knowledge c.A.D. 863 in an inscription of Pallava Nandivarman III, from Tiruvallam in North Arcot (MAHALINGAM 1988:132). Concerning a grant to the temple of Parameśvara at Tikkilivallam it specifies that 500 kādi of paddy are for the Śivabrāhmaṇas who offer worship and services in the sanctum (*ārāḍiṭṭi-ṭṭi-pāsarikkum (śiva)brāhmaṇarkku*) (ll.25-26). Thereafter the term is commonplace. But it is clear that it is the group known as the Ādiśaivas that is intended, because in these inscriptions when Śivabrāhmaṇas are named their Gotras are sometimes given and these are those of the Ādiśaivas as attested both by their prescriptive texts and among their modern descendants, namely Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Ātreya, Āgastya, and Pārśasara. See, e.g., *SI* 3:41 (Kāśyapa), 55 (Kauśika), 58 (Kauśika), 209 (Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Kauśika); *SI* 12:197 (Āgastya); *SI* 17:152 (Bhāradvāja), 157 (Bhāradvāja), 160 and 161 (Gautama), 162 and 163 (Bhāradvāja), 165 (Gautama, Pārśasara), 203 (Ātreya, Bhāradvāja), and 730 (Kāśyapa); *EC* 3, Sr.44 (Gautama); *EC* 10, Kl:106a (Kauśika), 106d (Gautama), 107 (Kauśika), 187 (Kauśika, Kāśyapa); *EC* 10, Bp:29, 32, 35a, and 37a (all Gautama, Bhāradvāja). Six of the seven, minus Āgastya, are listed in the *Samānta* as cited in the *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* A, p.125. Five of them, lacking Ātreya and Pārśasara, are listed in *Svāyambhuva*, p.14 (*Ācāryalakṣaṇapāṭala* 94c-95b). This evidence accords with contemporary testimony. According to the data collected by FULLER (1984, p.28) the Ādiśaiva priests of the Mināksisundarēśvara temple in Madurai belong to the Kāśyapa, Kauśika, Bhāradvāja, Gautama, and Ātreya Gotras.

all prescribe the layout of the royal palace in detail, the latter two distinguishing between different classes, the highest being that of a paramount sovereign or Mahārājādhirāja,<sup>668</sup> and in the first two works the design prescribed includes a section of the palace reserved for teachers of the Śaiva Mantramārga (*mantriṇaḥ*, *mantramārgopadeśināḥ*).<sup>669</sup> But the layout of the palace taught in these Pratiṣṭhāntantras is only part of the layout for an urban settlement to be established by the king around the palace, complete with markets and segregated areas for the dwellings of the various castes and artisans, with instructions for the size and plan of these dwellings determined by caste status.<sup>670</sup> The founding of such royal towns is not explicitly enjoined in the Śaivas' ritual manuals. That is to say that no ritual of *nagarapratīṣṭhā* was envisaged. The Śthāpaka was engaged, it seems, only for the choice and consecration of the site (*vāstupijā*) and his instructions followed for the layout of the buildings to be constructed upon it. Nonetheless, we see the Śaivas involving themselves in one aspect of the third of the elements of medieval process that I have listed, namely the creation of new urban settlements from above. The epigraphical record and Kalhaṇa's history of Kashmir demonstrate that any king of substance felt it incumbent on him to demonstrate his sovereignty not only by the building of temples but also by the creation of new urban settlements (*puram*), which, like the deities he established, were generally named after him.<sup>671</sup>

One of the early Pratiṣṭhāntantras, the *Devayāmata*, devotes its 66th chapter

<sup>668</sup> The layout of the royal palace is prescribed in *Mayasaṃgraha* ff. 33v-34r (5.188-199), *Mohacūḍottara* ff. 20v-22r (4.245c-281), and *Piṅgālamata* ff. 74r-75v (10.126-180).

<sup>669</sup> *Mayasaṃgraha* ff. 33v-34r (5.191-193b): *vitathe mantriṇām dhāma sarvāstrāṇi gṛhskate | antaḥpuram yamaṇade gandharve gātrisaṃśrayam || bhṛge senāpatīśṭhānaṃ mṛganābhydhānaṃ mṛge | paitre saucagṛhaṇ cātra tāmbūlādīvyopāśrayam || avarodhavadhūsthānaṃ sugṛve tu tato nyaset; Mohacūḍottara 4.257c-258b: vitathe mantriṇām śthānaṃ mantramārgopadeśinām || śaṣtram antaḥpuram gātr kastūrī saucaveśma ca | tāmbūlasaṃgrahaḥ strīṇām \*pālākāṇ (em.:pācākāṇ Cod.) strīṇāyāmākāṇ.*

<sup>670</sup> *Mayasaṃgraha* ff. 34v-35r (5.209-216); *Mohacūḍottara* f.21v1-6 (4.270-275b); *Piṅgālamata* ff. 75v-76r (10.181-194).

<sup>671</sup> This practice was followed both throughout the subcontinent and in Southeast Asia, as the following examples demonstrate: in Kashmir Pravarasena II's Pravarapura (Śrinagar), Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II's Pratāpapura, Jayāpīḍa's Jayapura, Lalitāditya's Lalitapura, Avantivarman's Avantipura, Śaṅkaravarman's Śaṅkarapura, and Diddā's Diddāpura, in eastern India Rāmāvatī (Rāmāuti) (of Rāmapāla), Vijayapura of Vijayasena, and Lakṣmanāvatī (Lakṣnauti) (of Lakṣmanasena), in the south Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapura, Parakesaripura, Parāntakapura, Rājakesaripura, Rājāśāpura, Rājādityapura, Rājāśrayapura, Rājendraacolapura, Vikramacolapura, Vikramapaṇḍyapura, Vikramasiṃhapura, Virārājendraacolapura, Virārājendrapura, and, among the Khmers Iśānapura, Bhavapura, Yaśodharapura, Rājendrapura, and Jayendranagari.



to the layout to be followed not only in new towns but also in new villages, with an emphasis on the positioning of the various deities within the plan and the directions in which they should face. The regulations imposed show us Śaiva officiants on a purely civic level. There is nothing specifically Śaiva in the layout. The *Devānata*'s chapter on iconography shows further evidence of the involvement of the Śaivas in both urban and rural planning. Differentiating various forms of Śiva in accordance with mood and number of arms it tells the Śthāpaka which are appropriate where.<sup>672</sup> The same concern can be seen in the Pratiṣṭhā sections of the South-Indian Yāmlatantra texts with regard to the positioning and iconography of the images of Bhadrakālī whose installation and cult are their concern.<sup>673</sup>

### ŚAIVISM AND IRRIGATION

The creation of new settlements and the concomitant extension of agriculture required the provision of the means of irrigation. Rituals for the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of wells (*kūpa*), step-wells (*vāpi*), and reservoirs (*puṣkariṇī*, *taḍāga*) were already provided by the brahmanical tradition. A Vaidika procedure of the Gṛhya type is outlined or touched upon in a number of sources;<sup>674</sup> a more elaborate, Paurāṇika form of the ritual, taking five days and requiring twenty-four priests in addition to the Śthāpaka, is set out at length in the *Mat-syapurāṇa* (58.4–56).<sup>675</sup> and the currency of this form is evident from the fact that it became the basis of further elaboration.<sup>676</sup> There is no trace of irriga-

tion rituals in the early Śaiva scriptures, including the Pratiṣṭhānttras. But in due course Śaiva officiants, seeking to add this important domain to their ritual repertoire, produced their own version. It first surfaces in our surviving evidence towards the end of the eleventh century, in the Paddhati of Somaśambhu,<sup>677</sup> and from that source entered both later Paddhatis such as the *Siddhāntaśekhara* and the *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* and the second wave of Śaiva scriptural literature produced in southern India.<sup>678</sup> In spite of the Śaivized character of these new rituals the underlying model is still recognizably that of the brahmanical tradition. The Śaiva elements are little more than a veneer on what is essentially a brahmanical procedure, marked by such distinctive features as the erecting of a Nāga pole (*nāgayaṣṭhi*) at the centre of the excavation, the casting of metal images of aquatic creatures into the water, the crossing of the excavation by a cow followed by the patron of the rite, the making of offerings to Varuṇa, and the giving of the cow to the officiant.<sup>679</sup> Nor is there any attempt to attribute to

ual literature of the priests of the Kashmirian brahmins; see \*Vāpyādi-pratiṣṭhā, ff. 893r14–905v16 (*Varuṇapratīṣṭhā*); ff. 906r1–907v9 (*Varuṇapratīṣṭhā* of Jivana); 910r1–v1 (*Ādityapurāṇa Nālakapratīṣṭhā*); 929v7–931r8 (*Taḍākapratīṣṭhā* and *Nālakapratīṣṭhā*); and 931r9–931v23 (*Chandogapratīṣṭhā* *Kūpapratīṣṭhā*). These treatments do not appear to be distinctively Kashmirian. On the subject of the giving of wells and reservoirs and the Smārta-Paurāṇika procedures for consecrating them see also *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, vol. 1 (*Dānakhaṇḍa*), pp. 1001–1029.

<sup>677</sup> See *Somaśambhupaddhati*, BRUNNER 1998, pp. 392–403 and pp. 406–411. The first passage sets out the ritual for the consecration of a *puṣkariṇī*, but adds at its end that it applies also for the consecration of a *vāpi* or *taḍāga*. The second passage gives the ritual for the consecration of a *kūpa*. A *kūpa* is a simple well, whereas a *vāpi* is a step-well, a well with a flight of steps leading down to it on one of more sides (*kūpa* 'dvārako gartasikṣaḥ baddhasopānako yaṁ vāpiti dvaitanirṇayaḥ: Raghunandana cited in KANE 2ii, p. 893). Such step-wells survive from the early medieval period, notably in Gujarat. The most splendid is no doubt the Rāpi ki Vāv at Patan (Anahillapattana), the old Caulukya capital. Both a *puṣkariṇī* and a *taḍāga* (*taḍāga*) are water reservoirs. The difference appears to be one of scale alone, the latter being larger than the former. KANE (*loc. cit.*) reports the view expressed by Raghunandana in his *Jalāśayotsargatattva* that a *puṣkariṇī* is from 100 to 200 cubits in length, and a *taḍāga* is from 200 to 800, and the view of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṁhitā* as quoted by Raghunandana that a *puṣkariṇī* is up to 400 cubits in length and a *taḍāga* up to 2000.

<sup>678</sup> See *Siddhāntaśekhara* of Viśvanātha (13th century, Benares), pp. 565–568 (11.1–25b); *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* of Vedājñānaguru II (16th century, Cidambaram), A. pp. 621–629, citing from the scripture *Cintyaśivasādhya* a passage obviously incorporated from the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (see BRUNNER 1998, p. 392, fn. 1); *Kṛtyakramadyotikā* MS transcript, pp. 344–346 (*Kūpapratīṣṭhā*); *Vīragama*, Patala 92. The section of the *Somaśambhupaddhati* on the consecration of reservoirs is also included in the Kashmirian \*Vāpyādi-pratiṣṭhā (ff. 907v10–908r9).

<sup>679</sup> See *Somaśambhupaddhati*, BRUNNER 1998, pp. 397–403 (vv. 8–19). Śaiva elements: the officiant recites the Pāsupatāstra Mantra as the patron crosses with the cow, makes oblations with the Aghora Mantra, instead of making an offering to the Vedic god Varuṇa may do so to the Śaiva Vāmadeva, and after preparing a

<sup>672</sup> *Devānata* f. 68r4: *dr̥bhujo rājadhānyam tu pattane tu caturbhujah | tathā cāṣṭa-bhujo bhadre prasāstaḥ pattane tthitah.*

<sup>673</sup> Thus in *Brahmayāmala* IFP 40.1–4b: *cāṣṭa param prasāstāyāmi pratimālakṣaṇam param | navatālapramāṇena pratimāṁ kārāyēd budhah || 2 śālināyām lohamāyām nṛṇāyām vāpi kārāyēd | grāme cāṣṭabhujam vidyān nagare ca caturbhujam || 3 vanāntare dr̥bhujam vidyāt parvatāgre tu goḍaḥ | samudre dvādaśam kuryāt 'jandandya (?) ... paḍbhujam || 4 tatāke dāśabhujam kuryāt catuṣpāthe caturbhujam; and Brahmayāmala Triv 3.3–8: grāme ca nagare caiva pattane rājadhāni | roḍārtham vāstavasthānam pure vai khetakāḍiṣu || 4 sarvasādhāraṇam vidyād yathādr̥bhatavistaram | bahih prakāṣṭah kuryān mātṛsthānam tu vāstavam || 5 āreṣṭham pūrvottare bhāge śatadāntānāntare | tadardhe vātha tasyārdhe dvādaśdāntare 'pi vā || 6 some eṣā vāstavam brahman mātṛṇam tva coditam | pūrvē vā pāścime vāpi tthānam aya prasāsyate || 7 yo me pūrvottare vāpi nagaragrāmaloḍhitam | dakṣiṇe kṛtākāryakṣam anyeṣām prāci pāścime || 8 āgneyanairṇatāis caiva tṛtīyam vāyugocaram | + + śālikam prasāpsāntai yāmale dvābhāṣite. On these south-Indian Yāmala texts, the cult they teach, and their non-brahmin priests see SANDELLSON 2007b, pp. 277–278 with footnotes 140–143.*

<sup>674</sup> See EINOO 2002 for the details of these sources.

<sup>675</sup> A procedure of the Paurāṇika type is also taught in *Āvalāyanīyagṛhyaparīṣiṣṭa* 4.9 and *Hiranyakūśīgṛhyasāstra* 1.7.1. (EINOO 2002, pp. 713–714).

<sup>676</sup> We find procedures based on the prescriptions of the *Matyapurāṇa* in the rit-



the ceremony any specifically Śaiva purpose or meaning. A work of public utility (*pūram*) after all is just that.

That Śaiva officiants were engaged to perform the consecration of irrigation works undertaken by their royal patrons seems very likely. No inscription known to me records any such ritual, but then no inscription to my knowledge conveys information about any religious ceremonies that accompanied the inauguration of reservoirs and other such works. It is even more probable that the Śaiva version of the ritual would have been performed when Śaiva Gurus undertook such constructions in their own right. We have seen above that inscriptions record the creation of reservoirs by Vimalaśiva, Mūrtiśiva, Prabodhaśiva, Paṭaṅgaśiva, and Tribhuvanakartaradeva.

### ŚAIVISM AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The fifth and last respect in which Śaivism can be seen to have played an active role is that of the assimilation of the communities that were caught up in the extension of the reach of the state that characterizes this period. For the Saiddhāntikas opened initiation to candidates from all four caste-classes,<sup>660</sup> including the Śūdras or at least the Sacchūdras or 'Pure Śūdras', those, that is, who had already succumbed to the values of brahmanical society to the extent that they had abjured alcohol,<sup>661</sup> a move that both promoted the penetration of these

porridge (*caruḥ*) with the Mantra of either makes the full oblation with the porridge using the Mantra of Śiva.

<sup>660</sup> Vaktraśambhu, *Mrgendrapaddhativākyā*, p.188: *śrīmatpauṣkare 'pi: brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś caiva śrīyas tathā | \*jaḍāndhabadhīrā* (em. : *jalāṇādhathirako* Cod.) *mūka dīkṣyāḥ \*śaktipracoditāḥ* (śakti em. : *śakti* Cod.) 'And in the *Pauṣkara* (pārameśvara): Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, women, imbeciles, the blind, the deaf, and the dumb: all should be initiated if they have been inspired by [Śiva's] power; and *Raurava* quoted by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakāṣṭha on *Mataṅga-pārameśvara*, *Kriyāpāda* 5.93 in support of the view that candidates for initiation should be brought before the Maṇḍala in the order of their castes: *yad uktaṁ śrīmatrauravādaḥ: brāhmaṇāṁ kṣatriyāṁ vaiśyāṁ śūdrāṁś caiva śrīyas tathā* 'As has been taught in such scriptures as the *Raurava*: brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and women'.

<sup>661</sup> *Parākhya* cited by Trilocanaśiva in *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, p.141: *yad uktaṁ śrīmatparākhya: kārya dīkṣāpi sarveṣāṁ \*laccakṣiuidhīyoginām* (laccakṣi corr. : *laccakṣi* Cod.) | *trayāṇām api varṇānām na tu śūdrāntyajātigu | amadyapās tu ye śūdrāḥ śaivacārakriy\*ūdarāḥ* (corr. : *ūdirāḥ* Cod.) | *śivabhaktāś\*ca* (corr. : *cai* Cod.) *teṣāṁ sa dīkṣā \*kāryanyathā na hīti* (em. : *kāryanyathānuhīti* Cod.) 'As has been taught in the *Parākhya*: 'Initiation should be done for all who have received the action of [the descent of] his power, for all three caste-classes but not for [ordinary] Śūdras and the lowest-born [below them]. One may initiate Śūdras, but only those who do not drink alcoholic liquor, who revere the disciplines and rites taught by Śiva, and are devoted to Śiva themselves'.

values and enabled the integration of the landowning agriculturalists, classed as Sacchūdras, that were dominant in the countryside both within and beyond the core territories of these expanding states. It thus provided a means of articulating a social unity that transcended the rigid exclusions of the brahmanical social order. Nor did it allow non-brahmins only to be initiated. More crucially it sanctioned their appointment as Acāryas, restricting this licence only by requiring that persons could officiate for persons of none but their own or inferior caste-classes. Thus a brahmin could teach, initiate, and perform ceremonies of installation only for brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, a Kṣatriya only for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, a Vaiśya only for Vaiśyas and Śūdras, and a Śūdra only for others of his caste-class.<sup>662</sup> The key groups here appear to have been the first and the last. For there is little evidence of the presence of Vaiśya traders in Śaivism, and though, as we have seen, Kṣatriya rulers were commonly Śaiva initiators, their social status and function were obviously incompatible with pontifical office. The core social structure here is one of brahmin Gurus initiating other brahmins, Kṣatriyas rulers, and perhaps on occasion members of lower castes, and of Śūdra Gurus initiating both other Śūdras and the powerful in their communities, who though kṣatriya-like in their local authority<sup>663</sup> were nonetheless formally of the same caste-class as their initiators. The Śāstric formulation

<sup>662</sup> *Kiraṇa* f. [60]v2-3 (38.4-5): *caturṇām api varṇānām* (em. : *caturvarṇāpivarnānām* Cod.) *acāryatvam ihoditam | brāhmaṇādīcatuṣkasya dvijo 'nugrahakṛd bhavet | kṣatriyādītrikaṁ yac ca \*kṣatriya \*dīkṣito* (corr. : *dīkṣitod* Cod.) *guruḥ | vaiśyādīdvitayaṁ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ śūdrān tu dīkṣayet*. In this [system] the office of Acārya has been taught for all four caste-classes. A brahmin may initiate persons of two four beginning with his, an initiated Kṣatriya Guru the three beginning with his, and a Vaiśya the two beginning with his. A Śūdra may initiate [only] Śūdras'.

<sup>663</sup> *Parākhya* quoted in *Dīkṣadārtā* A. p. 26; B. p. 42: *\*amadyapāḥ* (em. : *amadyapa* A : *amadyapa* B) *\*kulinaś* (corr. : *kulinaś* A : *kulinaś* B) *ca nityadharma\*pariṇayāḥ* (em. : *pariṇayāḥ* AB) | *\*śūdrāḥ* (em. : *śūdra* AB) *kṣatriyavaj jñeyāś teṣā nindyāś< > tata bhrām* 'Those Śūdras who do not drink alcohol, who are of good family, and devoted to the obligatory religious duties should be looked upon as Kṣatriyas. All the rest are completely to be condemned'. Cf. *Pārameśvara* f. 3v2-3: *\*amadyapās* (em. : *amedhyapās* Cod.) *tu ye śūdrā< > śaulcācārasamanvitāḥ | rudrabhaktās tu teṣān tu bhōyam annam prakṛitām* 'One is permitted to accept food from those Śūdras who do not drink alcohol, who observe the rules of purity, and are devotees of Śiva'; Trilocanaśiva, *Somaśambhupaddhativākyā*, p. 84: *tad uktaṁ brahmaśambhupaddhatu 'brahmakṣatriyauśāṁ bhikṣāḥ' abhīśastādīvarjitām* (em. : *abhīśastādīvarjitām* Cod.) | *amadyapās tu ye śūdrāḥ śaivacārasamanvitāḥ | teṣā eva cared bhikṣā nanyeṣāṁ tu kadācana* 'iti 'That has been taught in the *Paddhati* of Brahmaśambhu in the following: 'One may gather alms only from brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas, provided it is not from someone who been condemned [for some sin] or [permanently] excluded from his caste], and also from such Śūdras as do not drink alcohol and observe the rules of purity. One may never accept alms from others'.



of the full set of possibilities, in which members of any caste-class are said to be able to initiate only their equals and inferiors, serves, I suggest, not as a record that all these possibilities were enacted but rather as an abstraction that adds authority to the more restricted common practice by presenting it as following a universally valid principle upheld in the brahmanical social system, seen, for example in the rule that a man may marry a woman born of parents of his own caste or one below it but never a woman from a community ranked above him.<sup>654</sup> Indeed Saiddhāntika texts that discuss who may receive initiation and consecration and who may not include the offspring of such forbidden marriages in the latter category.<sup>655</sup>

Evidence of the existence of such self-contained Śūdra Saiddhāntika lineages is abundant in the Tamil country at the end of our period and after it down to modern times. There members of the Sacchūdra Vēlḷāla community such as Meykaṇṭār, and Nāṇacampantar played a significant part in the development of the canon of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, and a good number of powerful Mathas emerged, such as those at Tharumapuram (Dharmapuram) and Tiruvāḍuturai, in which the presiding ascetics were and have continued to be members of this upwardly mobile Sacchūdra caste.<sup>656</sup>

<sup>654</sup> See, e.g., *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, *Ācārādhyāya* 57, 91-95.

<sup>655</sup> *Dikṣadāra* - A, p. 23; B, p. 25: *atrādhikāri* *tevanirūpaṇavidhir* (corr. : *nirūpaṇavidhir* Codd.) *ucyate* | *viprādīṇaṁ dāśānāṁ guruteva uktam* | *tathā cānyavilāse* | *viprādīṇaṁ caturṣu evam anulomādīṣu gaṇe ca* | *eteṣāṁ dāśajātīnāṁ dvāryatvaṁ vidhīyate* | *tathā kāmike* *caturō brāhmaṇādīṣu ca anulomās ca ye matāḥ* | "I shall [now] explain how one determines who is competent for this [office]. Ten, beginning with the brahmin, can be Gurus. Thus in the *Cintyāsūtra*: 'It is ruled that these ten castes be Ācāryas: the four beginning with brahmin, and the six Anulomas'. And in the *Kāmika*: 'The four beginning with the brahmin and the [six] Anulomas'. The term Anuloma here is a synonym of *anuloma* 'born of a union that is in the natural direction', that is to say, hypergamous. The six Anulomas are (1) from a brahmin man and Kṣatriya woman (Mūrdhavasikta), (2) from a brahmin man and Vaiśya woman (Ambaṭha), (3) from a brahmin man and Śūdra woman (Pārasava), (4) from a Kṣatriya man and a Vaiśya woman (Māhigya/Madgu), (5) from a Kṣatriya man and a Śūdra woman (Ugra), and (6) from a Vaiśya man and a Śūdra woman (Kuraṇa). See, e.g., *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, *Ācārādhyāya* 91-92. The *ādi- in anulomādīṣu gaṇe ca* in the passage cited from the *Cintyāsūtra* is redundant and may be corrupt (perhaps for *anulomātmasu*).

<sup>656</sup> ARE 1909, p. 105; STEIN 1994, pp. 235-241; GHOSH 1996, pp. 222, 253-282. STEIN hypothesizes (1994, pp. 237-239) that this rise of the Vēlḷālas was the cause of the fact that from the thirteenth century onwards independent shrines of the Goddess (*kūmarakṣam*) began to be built in the Tamil area alongside those of Śiva and to be enclosed with the latter in a single architectural complex. He takes this to be evidence of "the assimilation of folk conceptions of deity". See also GHOSH 1996, pp. 221-222. There is certainly widespread evidence of Śaktization in the later south-Indian Śaiva literature. In the south-Indian Saiddhāntika scriptures *Raurava*, *Cintya*, *Makuta*, and *Sūkṣma* all the male deities in the circuits surrounding

It might be suspected that this is an isolated development peculiar to the Far South; and I must say that I am not yet aware of historical evidence of parallel developments elsewhere in India at this time or before it. However, it is extremely improbable that we would have found unambiguous statements in early texts that are very unlikely to have emanated from that region to the effect that Śūdras may receive consecration as Ācāryas, initiate others of their caste and pass on their office within it, if this was not indeed a widespread practice. This is all the more certain in the light of the fact that the same early corpus provides specific instructions on how such initiates should be named, how they should dress their hair, mark themselves with ash, and the like.<sup>657</sup>

Śiva in temple worship, from the first of the Brahmas to the last of the Weapons have been provided with a personal Śakti; see *Raurava*, *Kriyāpāda*, Pātala 59, and N.R. BHATT's introduction to his edition of the *Sārdhatrisatikāloṭṭara*, pp. xviii-xix (*Cintya* and *Makuta*) and pp. lxxviii-lxxix (*Cintya*, *Makuta*, and *Sūkṣma*). There is striking evidence of a related development in the Tamil Śaiva literature in the *Tirumantiram* of Tirumūlar. That text has been assigned to the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. But it weaves together the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, the Vedānta, a Śākta tradition that features *kundalinīyoga* and the cult of Tripurā, and the cult of Natarāja. This is a combination which is unlikely to predate the twelfth century (see also GOODALL 2004, pp. xxix-xxx). In Sanskrit the same amalgam appears in such works as the scripture *Jñānasiddhyāgama* and the *Siddhāntapaddhati* of a Jñānāsiva.

<sup>657</sup> *Sarvajñānottara* A f. 35r3-5 (14.35-40), B pp. 99-100 (*Liṅgoddhārādhiprakaraṇa* vv. 34c-40b): *āpādamastakam yāva bhasmasnāneṁ dvijasya tu* | *nābher ūrdhvaṁ nṛpaspyoktam ādraketa tu bhasmanā* | 36 *vaiśyasya paṭṭikā proktā śūdrasya tu tripundrakam* | *bhasmanā brahmaṇapena yathāsthānair* (A : *sthāneṣu* B) *anukramāt* || 37 *brāhmaṇasya jātāḥ* > *sūkṣmāḥ* > (A : *śloṣṇā* B) *kanakāḥ parikṛitāḥ* | *sthūlās taddviguṇā jñeya kṣatriyasya tu ryanatarāḥ* || 38 *vaiśyasyaikā śikhāsthāne tathā śūdrasya kṛitā* | *hrasvā śloṣṇā* > *ākṣasanyuktāḥ* (ākṣa A : *ānu* B) *sanyatasya* \**jitendriya* (conj. : *jitendriya* Codd.) || 39 *yajñopavītaṁ sautaram* (A : *yajñopavītasūtraṁ* B) *tu vipre pañcasaram smṛtam* | *trisarāṁ kṣatriyaspyoktam vaiśyasya dvisarāṁ smṛtam* || 40 *śūdrasyaikasaram jñeyam nityam auyabhiḥcārīṇaḥ* | *arāḍgnikāryakāle tu* (A : *arāḍgnim agnikārye vā* B) *sandhyakāle ca nānyathā* | A brahmin's bath with ashes should be from foot to head. A Kṣatriya's has been taught to be from the navel up and with reddish ash. A Vaiśya may have only a broad band [of ash] on his forehead. A Śūdra may make the Tripundraka marks with ash on the various prescribed points on the body in the [prescribed] order. In each the bath should be done with ash empowered by the [five] Brahma[mantras]. A brahmin's braids should be narrow and [of the round variety], called 'thorn apples' (*kanakāḥ*). A Kṣatriya's should be twice as thick "... (?). A Vaiśya should have only one braid, on the crown of his head. It should be short, smooth, with a Rudrākṣa bead attached. The same applies to a Śūdra ascetic. 'O you of controlled senses (?). The sacred thread should always have five strands for a brahmin, three for a Kṣatriya, two for a Vaiśya, and one for an observant Śūdra. The last, however, may wear it only when doing Pūjā, making offerings into the sacrificial fire, and during the periods of the junctures of the day': *Kṛāṇa* f. [60]r3-4 (37.10, 12-13): *upavītaṁ* \**bhaved* (corr. : *bhavedd* Codd.) *evam kṣatriyādītrayasya tu* | *trisarāṁ dvisarāṁ vāpi kāryam ekasaram kramāt* || 12 *pūjātanmātrakaṁ kalam nardhvaṁ*



As for those below the Pure Śūdras, that is to say, members of Śūdra castes not considered pure and, below even them, members of the various more or less untouchable communities defined as the lowest-born (*antyaśāh*), these too were drawn by the Saiddhāntikas within the reach of the religion. Texts of this tradition declare that a Guru is forbidden to give them initiation in the full sacrificial form (*hautrī dīkṣā*). But if he sees that they are inspired by sincere devotion to Śiva he is required to perform for them a simplified form of initiation that avoids direct contact. This is to be accomplished mentally (*mānastī dīkṣā*) or in the form of a gaze believed to transmit Śiva's liberating power (*cākṣuṣī dīkṣā*), or by allowing them to drink the water with which his feet have been washed, an extension of the common devotional practice of drinking the water that gathers at the foot of an image in the course of its worship.<sup>688</sup>

*teṣāṃ bhaved iha [jaṭānāṃ dhāraṇaṃ \*bhasmalepanaṃ (corr.: bhasmalepanaṇa Cod.) \*brāhmaṇe (corr.: brahmaṇe Cod.) bhavet || 13 tripuṇḍra-*cṇ* > śikhā caikā kṣatriyāditraye bhavet* This is how the sacred thread should be [for a brahmin]. But for Kṣatriyas and the rest it should be made with three, two, and one strand respectively and may be worn only at the time of worship, not after. A brahmin [only] may wear [full] braids and smear [his whole body] with ashes. The three [castes] beginning with Kṣatriyas may have a Tripuṇḍra and a single [braid at the] crown'; *Mrgendra, Cāryapāda* 1.3-4a: *urātino jaṭilā muṇḍā teṣu agryā bhasmapāṇḍarāḥ | tilakāḥ puṇḍrakāḥ pottair bhūṣitā bhūmipādayaḥ | jaṭā na śūdro bibhṛyāt* 'Ascetics [should either] have their hair in braids or be shaven bald. The foremost among them, the brahmins, [should be] white with ash [from head to foot]. Kṣatriyas, [Vaiśyas], and [Śūdras] should be adorned with dots [of ash], Vaiśyas with the [Tri]puṇḍra lines, and Śūdras with a broad band [of ash on the forehead]. A Śūdra may not wear braids'. For the differentiation of initiation-names according to caste see here p. 291.

<sup>688</sup> *Kīraṇa* f. [60]v3-4 (38.6e-7): *yathāsthītena bhāvena \*mantrāḥ (em.: mantra Cod.) kurvanty anugraham || yatas tato \*ntyajasyasyāpi (conj.: ntyajasyāsyasya Cod.) dīkṣā \*kiṃ tu atra (em.: kintatra Cod.) mānastī | kārūṇāṃ tu saṃsparśā-*cṇ* > \*na tu hautrīm (em.: nagrahautrī Cod.) prakalpayet* 'Since Mantras grant initiation in consideration [only] of the state of [a person's] mentality he may give initiation even to an untouchable. But [the initiation] in this case [must be only] through the medium of the mind. It the case of workmen [it should be] by touching them. He must not do the initiation involving fire-sacrifice [for either]; *Kāmika* quoted in the *Dīkṣādarśa* A, p. 27 and B, p. 43: *antyaśānāṃ na hautrī syāt kiṃ tu dīkṣā tu cākṣuṣī* 'Untouchables may not receive initiation through fire-sacrifice. But they can receive ocular initiation'; *Vāyavyasaṃhita* quoted in the *Dīkṣādarśa* A, p. 26 and B, p. 41: *asocchādṛāntyaśānāṃ patitānām viśeṣataḥ | tatāḥ saṃkarajātūnāṃ nādhvaśuddhir vidhiyate | te 'py akṛīmanbhāvēś cche paramakāraṇe | pādoḍakapradānādyāḥ kuryāt \*pāśaviśodhanam (A: pādaviśodhanam B) | atṛānūlomajātā ye \*yuktā ye (em.: yuktaḥ AB) \*vā (A: va B) dvijātisu | teṣāṃ adhvaviśuddhyādi \*kāryam atra (em.: kāryamātra AB) \*kulocitam (A: kulojitam B)* The elimination of the paths [of the universe through oblations in the sacrificial fire] is not permitted for Impure Śūdras, untouchables (*antyaśānti*), and, above all, for outcastes (*patita*), nor for those of the mixed castes (*saṃkarajāti*). If, however, they have genuine devotion to Śiva, the highest caste,

Orthodox brahmanical practice denied all Śūdras access through Upa-nayana to the Veda and the rituals that are animated by its Mantras and excluded even more radically the various groups it ranked below these as 'the lowest born' (*antyaśāh*, *antyaśānti*). The texts of the Śaivas justified their liberating inroads into the mass of humanity beyond these brahmanical boundaries by boldly declaring that the system of the separation of the castes (*jātibhedah*) is a fabrication without basis in reality, a cultural epiphenomenon rather than a deep fact of nature,<sup>689</sup> pointing to its absence among human beings outside of India.<sup>690</sup> Only mentality matters; and consequently all devotees of Śiva form a single community regardless of birth,<sup>691</sup> one whose only true internal

he should eliminate their bonds by such means as giving them the water from his feet. As for those who are born of inter-caste marriages in which the father's caste is higher or 'if they are connected with brahmins (?) he may do [for them the full ritual procedure] that begins with the elimination of the paths as appropriate to the [caste of the] family [in which they have been born]'. The term *saṃkarajāti*, which I have translated literally as 'of the mixed castes' refers to offspring of such unions as that between a Māhiṣya (born of a Kṣatriya man and Vaiśya woman) and Karapa woman (born of a Vaiśya man and Śūdra woman; see, e.g., *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, *Ācārādhyāya* 95.

<sup>689</sup> *Paṇḍarapārameśvara* quoted in *Nityādisaṃgraha* f. 62v12-13: *manuṣyajātir ekaiva* There is only one caste, that of human beings'; f. 63r4-5: *na jātir vīhitā tatva varṇaṃ vāpi sitādīkam | yonilīngodbhāvāḥ sarve jīva ekaḥ samaḥ sthitaḥ | tatva sarvagato devo dr̥ṣṭe jñānācākṣuṣā | ajñāna-dhvastacittānām (conj.: pāpa-cittānām Cod.) kuśāstra-vivāśātmanām (conj.: vīhātmanām Cod.) | vākpralāpāḥ sthitas teṣāṃ yadi jātiḥ prayajanam* 'No caste has been enjoined with respect to them, nor colour such as white. All are born from sexual union and the souls [of all] are equal. With the eye of knowledge Śiva is seen pervading all of them. If [they declare that] caste is relevant then this is the prattling of men whose understanding is destroyed by ignorance, who are under the sway of false teachings'; *Kulasūtra* f. 72r2: *ekabijaprasūtam hi sarvaṃ jagad idaṃ priye | tasmā jātīvijāntāṃ tu bhṛāntipīṭavam idaṃ kṛtam* This whole world, my beloved, has been born from a single seed. So this concern for caste that people have springs from an error'; *Tantraloka* 15.595c-601b.

<sup>690</sup> *Cintaviśāṇa[sādhakya]* quoted in *Dīkṣādarśa* of Vedājñānaguru II, A, p. 24; B, p. 38: *navahāṇḍeṣu sarveṣu bhāreṣu \*mayena ca (B: ca yena ca A) | jātibhedam idaṃ kalpyam anyadeṣu nāsti tat | tasmāt tat kalpanāmātram jātibhedam \*iti kṛtam (7) 'Maya [the Guru of the Āsuras] created this division of the castes throughout the nine divisions of the continent of Bharata. It does not exist in other countries. Therefore it is nothing but a fabrication/fiction.'*

<sup>691</sup> See, for example, *Niśōḍasakarikā*, pp. 35-36 (12.161-167): 161 *tattvāni yo vijānāti tattvānām \*vyāptim uttamām (em.: vyāptir uttamam Cod.) | dharmādharmaṃ na lipyeta sa sarvānuṣrahe kṣamāḥ || 162 brahmaṇa-*cṇ* > kṣatriyo \*vaiśyaḥ (corr.: veyśya Cod.) śūdro vā tattvavid yadā | vibhaktir (em.: vibhakti Cod.) naiva vidyeta yathāgnāṃ ognir eva hi || 163 kṣīraṃ kṣīre yathā nyasto loye loyam ivāpitam | vibhāgo naiva vidyeta tattvam īśvara-bhāṣitam (conj.: īśvarabhāṣitām Cod.) || 164 yathā hi sarīras sarvās sāgarasārasasamsthitaḥ | vīcektum (em.: vīcekam Cod.) tu na śakyante rasa-bhāve (conj.: bhāvam Cod.) prthak prthak || 165 tadvad varṇāśramā devī dīkṣito yadi vā paśuḥ | śivabhāvasamā-yuktās*



hierarchy is that created by the four levels of empowerment through initiation and consecration.<sup>692</sup>

However, it should not be imagined that because they insisted that the divisions of the castes are ultimately groundless when explaining the inclusiveness of their recruitment they rejected these divisions in practice. It is one thing to extend one's recruitment into lower social strata and quite another to reject the divisions between them in practice. Thus in spite of their rhetoric of the underlying unity of man they required that caste divisions be respected not only in relations between initiates and the wider society in matters such as marriage but also in relations between fellow-initiates. As we have seen, they denied impure Śūdras and untouchables the full ceremonial form of initiation, they refused to transmit the office of Ācārya to the offspring of unions between a man of a lower caste and a woman of a higher, and they would not countenance an Ācārya's initiating his caste superior, in effect a Śūdra's initiating a brahmin. They also required, for example, that when initiates of different caste-classes gathered they should sit apart, each in a separate line;<sup>693</sup> the penances (*prāyaścittam*) that they pre-

scribed for initiates contaminated by an accidental or wilful contact with a person in a state of impurity were calibrated in severity according to the degree of distance in caste-status between the persons contaminating and contaminated,<sup>694</sup> and they assigned compound initiation-names such as Aghora-śiva and Aghora-gaṇa whose second member indicated the caste-status of the bearer, marking out brahmins from non-brahmins, non-Śūdras from Śūdras, or each of the four caste-classes from each other.<sup>695</sup>

from the mixed castes are eating together in a single line'.

<sup>694</sup> See Trilocanaśiva, *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* p. 25. Similar differentiation according to caste applies to the penances for eating the leavings of another's food (*ucchiṣṭabhojanam*), illicit sexual intercourse, and the taking of human life; see *ibid.*, pp. 32, 35, 48, and 52-53. How the hierarchy of caste was perceived in relation to that between the initiated and the uninitiated can be seen in the rules for the penances needed to restore purity if one's food has been contaminated through contact with an *ucchiṣṭa*, a person who has eaten but has not yet purified himself. The rules for initiated brahmins will suffice to illustrate this. If a brahmin initiate's food is contaminated by another brahmin initiate the penance is 100 repetitions of the *Tatpuruṣa*, the Mantra that is the Lord of his Caste (*jātiśah*). It is doubled if the contaminator is an uninitiated brahmin or an initiated Kṣatriya. One day of fasting is added to the repetitions if the contaminator is an uninitiated Kṣatriya, two if the contaminator is an initiated Vaiśya, three if an initiated Śūdra, four if an uninitiated Vaiśya, and six if an uninitiated Śūdra (*ibid.*, p. 31). Here we see traces of a view that the status bestowed by Śaiva initiation should prevail over that of caste. In its pure form this would entail that a Śaiva brahmin should consider contamination by an initiated Śūdra one degree less severe than that by an uninitiated brahmin, two degrees less severe than that by an uninitiated Kṣatriya, and so on. But the Saiddhāntikas have preferred to limit the application of this view to the lowest two castes, where it was of least consequence, allowing an initiated Śūdra to be less contaminating than an uninitiated Vaiśya, but not an initiated Vaiśya to outrank an uninitiated Kṣatriya or an initiated Kṣatriya an ordinary brahmin. In other words the primary distinctions here are (1) that between brahmins and Kṣatriyas on the one hand and Vaiśyas and Śūdras on the other, and (2) that between brahmins and Kṣatriyas. So while a Śūdra will be purer than a Vaiśya if he has been initiated, a Kṣatriya, in effect the king or a member of his family, will never be less pure than a Vaiśya, nor a brahmin less pure than a non-brahmin. In this regard the benefit of initiation in the case of the Kṣatriya is limited to an acceptance that he is no more contaminating than an uninitiated brahmin. But this is already a major concession in terms of caste and articulates the view seen elsewhere in the literature that the prosperity of society requires an alliance between the brahmins led by the Śaivas and a monarch who has received initiation from the Śaiva Guru. This view is underlined by the fact that penance is without fasting in the case of contamination by brahmins or an initiated Kṣatriya but with fasting in all other cases.

<sup>695</sup> I am aware of five different rulings in this matter. (1) names in -śiva, etc. for brahmins only; in -gaṇa for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, and in -śakti for women; see *Kīraṇa* 37.11-12b: *kṣatriyāditrayasyoktam <m>antrānāma gaṇāṅkīlām* [ 12 *viprāṇām* \*mantrapūrcam] (conj. : *matpūrcam* Cod) *tu sagotrāntam bhaved iha* 'In the case of the three (castes) beginning with the Kṣatriya it should be the name of one of the Mantras distinguished by [the addition of] -gaṇa. In the case of brahmins

(conj. : *yukto* Cod.) \**tulyā* (conj. : *tulyam* Cod.) *eva na saṁśayaḥ* [ 166 *śivatantam samādriya vibhaktim yāḥ kariyati* | \**paṇyen naraḥ sa* (conj. : *sa paṇyen nara* Cod.) *ghoreṣu dūtrīṣṭan naraḥ sa* [ 167 *brahmanas tu dināḥ paṇica dināḥ paṇica* *ca keśave* | *dinatrayam tu rudraya prāyaścittiyate naraḥ*; *Valādharin*, *Kṛiyasamgrahapaddhati* f. 49r4-v1, extending this principle to include foreigners (better to initiate a sincere Mleccha than an insincere brahmin): *māyānto yadā śiṣyo viprajāṭisamudbhavaḥ* | *māyāhinas tataḥ pātram mlecchāśūdrādisambhavaḥ* | *na vipre dāpadye dīkṣam dāpāyen mlecchajannine* | *nādhikāro yato vipro māyādiguṇasamnyutaḥ* | *nīprapācagunair yukto mlecchā caiva śiṣyame* | *dīkṣā vai sarvathā tasya yato māyādivarjitāḥ*. See the same point made in the lost scripture *Mukūṭa* cited by Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 1b.514cd.

<sup>692</sup> *Nityādisamgraha* f. 63r11-12: *taponubaddho yair ātmā brāhmaṇas tāt vidur jarāḥ* | *paṭupāśadvādhānāṣṭāḥ śivajñānānuśarīṇaḥ* | *te hi devādevasya pūjā-karmaṇi kirtitāḥ* | *ity uktam candraśāśkhye muktaśāśyameṣu ca samayog-divideṣeṇa jātir ekaiva kirtitā* 'People judge as [true] brahmins those who have controlled themselves through austerity, who know the bound soul, the bonds, and the rites [of initiation], and who follow the teachings of Śiva. For it is these that have been declared [fit to officiate] in the rites of the worship of the Supreme Deity. This has been taught in the [scripture] *Candraśāśa*; and in such texts as the *Mukūṭa* we are told that there is only one 'caste' [for Śaivas] with differentiation [by status] only into Samayins, Putrakas, Sādhakas, [and] Ācāryas'.

<sup>693</sup> Somānambhu, BRUNNER 1961, p. 301 (v. 8cd.): *savarpair ekayāṁ paṅktiyā bhūjātāntarmanamunih* 'One should eat in silence with concentrate mind in a single line with others of the same caste-class', Trilocanaśiva, *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, p. 26: *ekapaṅktiyā sadā varjyā bhogane bhinnajātibhūḥ* 'When eating one must always avoid sitting in a single line with persons of other castes'. Note the distaste expressed by the brahmin Saṁkarṣaṇa in the *Āgamaśāmbhara* (p. 56) when, in a Kāśmīran monastery, he notices that Buddhist monks do not form separate lines according to caste when they eat together: *caturāro varjāḥ tārṇasamkharā epi tā sarva varṇakaryāṁ paṅktau bhūjite* 'Persons of all the four caste-classes and even



However, the non-Saiddhāntika traditions of the worship of Bhairava and the Goddess in the Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha have shown themselves much less willing to tolerate such compromises, seeing them as a contamination of the true Śaiva tradition and appropriate only for those, namely the Saiddhāntikas, whose degree of illumination by Śiva is insufficient to enable them to appreciate and enact his higher teachings.<sup>696</sup> Distinction on the basis of caste is generally

it should begin with a Mantra and end with the Gotra name [-śiva, etc.]; *Mrgendra*, *Kṛīyāpāda* 8.60c-61: *śrajaṃ vimocayen nāma dikṣitānām tadādikam* || *śivāntakam* *divjendranām itareṣāṃ gaṇāntakam* 'He should throw the garland. The names of initiated brahmins should begin with the name of that [on which it lands] and end in -śiva. For all others it should end in -gaṇa; 'and *Vidyāpūraṇa*, a Saiddhāntika scripture in spite of its title, quoted in *Nityādisaṃgraha* f. 63v12- 64r13: *śivo jyotiḥ śikhā caiva sūtras ceti gocaraḥ* | ... *etāḥ saṃjñā divjāgrāṇāṃ rājādīnām gaṇāṅkīṭāḥ* | *śaktisaṃjñās tu* \*vai (em: *vā*) *sṛitāṃ sarvāṃ parikṛitāḥ* 'The gocharas are Śiva, Jyoti, Śikhā and Sāvitra. ... These names (ending in -śiva, -jyotis etc.) are proper to brahmins. The names of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and (Śūdras) are distinguished by the [ending] -gaṇa, while all women are required to have names [ending] in -śakti'; (2) a Kashmirian tradition in which names in -śiva are for the three higher caste-classes, with names in -gaṇa for Śūdras only, and names in -śakti for women; see Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on *Mrgendra*, *Kṛīyāpāda* 8.60c-61 cited above, taking *divjendranām* there to mean not brahmins but brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas; Jayaratha, *Tantrāloka* vii. 4. 265ab (adding names in -śakti for women); Manoda, *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A II. 96v16-97r9: *tatpātāvasare śivānāmāṅkīṭāṃ śiṣyaṃ vidhāya śṛīyaṃ ca śaktināmāṅkīṭāṃ vidhāya* ... *śūdraviṣaye tu ayam amukagaṇa āgataḥ iti prajyaṃ* 'When that [flower] falls he should name a male disciple -śiva and a woman -śakti. ... In the case of a Śūdra he should formulate [the Mantra] as follows: This man, N-gaṇa, has come [before you, O Lord]'; (3) names in -śiva for brahmins, and in -gaṇa and -deva for Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas; see Brahmaśambhu, *Naimittikakarmānusāṃdhāna* f. 38v4-5 (2.180): *tatpātāśicitāśānopūrvāṃ śivopadottaraṃ* | *nānāvadhārya viprasya gaṇadevāntam anyayoḥ* 'Having determined the [initiation] name, whose first part should be the \* ... (?) indicated by the fall of the [flower] and whose second part should be the word -śiva in the case of a brahmin, but which should end in -gaṇa and -deva in the case of the other two [castes]'; *Amṛteśadīkṣāvidhi* f. 16r6-7: *śiṣyasya nāmakarāṇaṃ śivamaragaṇāntakam*; (4) names in -śiva for brahmins, and in -deva, -gaṇa, and -muni for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras; see *Īśānāśivogurudevopaddhati*, *Kṛīyāpāda* 146 (16.67-68b): *śivāntaṃ brāhmaṇasya syād devagaṇāntam anyayoḥ* | *śūdrasya munisābāntaṃ nāma kuryād* 'The name of a brahmin should end in -śiva and those of the next two [castes, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya] in -gaṇa and -deva. He should give a Śūdra a name that ends in -muni'; and (5) names in -śiva for brahmins, -kavaca for Kṣatriyas, -deva for Vaiśyas, and -gaṇa for Śūdras; see *Bṛhatkālottara* A, f. 91v3-4: *śivasāṃjñā divjasyaiva kavacāḥkhyā nṛpasya ca* | *vaiśyānām devasāṃjñā ca śūdrānām ca* \**gaṇāntakam* (em: *gaṇāntikam* Cod.) | *pūṣpapātānūsāreṇa saṃjñā* \**tatpātato* (conj: *tatpātato* Cod.) *hitā* 'The [initiation] name should be -śiva for a brahmin, -kavaca for a Kṣatriya, -deva for Vaiśyas, and ending in -gaṇa for Śūdras. The [first half of the] name should be in accordance with the throwing of the flower [on to a Maṇḍala], being determined by [segment of] the [Maṇḍala] in which it lands'.

<sup>696</sup> *Tantrāloka* 15.517: *ata evārthasattatvadeśiny asmin na dīyate* | *rahasyaśāstre jatyādisamācāro hi śāmbhave* 'In this esoteric (Śākta/Kaula) Śaiva system, since

allowed to intrude only at the point of entry, to determine the length of the period during which a Guru should examine a candidate to determine his or her fitness for initiation, or in the *Mahālakṣmīmata* that ends the fourth *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* to enable a Guru to select the impure substance that the candidate will be given to swallow without inhibition before receiving consecration (*abhiṣekah*).<sup>697</sup>

Although there is no division of castes in this great Tantra, it is found nonetheless, O beautiful-eyed, in the commencement of initiation. [For only] when people have gone through initiation do they have no caste at all. [Or rather only then] do they become members of the one 'caste' of Śiva. For this reason, in the *Viśeṣadīkṣā* [the Ācārya] must do what I shall now explain. Slender-waisted one, he should initiate brahmins by making them drink wine, Kṣatriyas by [making them drink] urine, Vaiśyas by making them drink semen, Śūdras by [making them swallow] faeces, and women by making them embrace the body of an initiate.

We find accordingly a stronger rejection of caste in ceremonial contexts, a conviction that pride of caste is one of the factors that hold souls in bondage, and prohibitions against ever mentioning the birth-caste of a fellow initiate. Thus in the *Svacchandatantra* of the Mantrapīṭha we read:<sup>698</sup>

O fair-faced one, all those who have been initiated by this ritual are of equal nature, whether they be brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, or others [of lower castes]. [For] they have been brought into a state of fusion with the nature of Śiva. All are said to be [Śivas,] wearers of [his] braids, their bodies dusted [like his] with ash. All Saṃnyasins should sit in a single row. Putrakas, Sādhakas,

it teaches the nature of the ultimately real, observance of such [distinctions] as [those of] caste is not taught'.

<sup>697</sup> *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka*, f. 230v4-6: *yady apy asmin mehitāntre jātībhedo na vīryate* || 33 *tathāpi dikṣāpīrāmbe bhavaty eva sulocane* | *dikṣitānām na jātiḥ syād ekā jātiḥ tu caisvarī* || 34 *tasmād viśeṣadīkṣāyām* \**vakṣyamāṇām* (corr: *vakṣyamāṇām* Cod.) *samācaret* | *brāhmaṇa* <ṇ>ś \**calipānena* (em: *calipānena* Cod.) \**kṣatriyaś* (em: *kṣatriyaś* Cod.) *ca śivāmbunā* || 35 *vaiśya* <ṇ>ś *canadanāpānena śūdra* <ṇ> vai viśvabhasmanā | *śṛīry utraṅgasamsparsā* <ṇ> *dikṣayeta sumadhiyame*.

<sup>698</sup> *Svacchanda* 4.539c-545: *anenaiva vidhānena dikṣitā ye varānane* || 540 *brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cānye* 'thauv priye | *sarve te samadharmāṇaḥ śivadharme niyojitaḥ* || 541 *sarve jātādharaḥ* *prōkta bhasmadhūlitavīgrahaḥ* | *ekapāṅktibhujāḥ sarve samayinas* *tu varānane* || 542 *putrakāṇām bhaved ekā sādhanānām tathā bhavet* | *cumbakāṇām bhaved ekā na prajātiśvibhedataḥ* || 543 *ekaiṣa śā smṛtī jātir bhairaviyā śivāyuyā* | *tantram etat samāśṛitya prajātiṇa na hy uttrayet* || 544 *putrakāṇām sādhanānām tathā samayinām api* | *prajātyudīranād devī prayaścitti bhaven naraḥ* || 545 *dinatrayaṃ tu rudrasya pañcāṇaḥ keśavasya ca* | *pitāmahasya pakṣaikaṃ narake pacyate* *tu saḥ* || 545 *aviceki bhavet tasmād yadlecched uttamāḥ siddhiḥ* | *avicekena deveśi siddhir muk-tir dhruvaṃ bhavet*. This passage is related to *Nivāsakārikā* 12.161-167 cited above, p. 289.



and Cumbakas [Ācāryas] should do the same. They may not sit according to the divisions of their former castes. [For] they are said to form but a single caste of Bhairava, auspicious and eternal. Once a person has taken up this Tantric system he may never mention his former caste. If any [initiate] mentions the former caste of any Putraka, Sādhaka, or Samayin he will have sinned and will be roasted in hell for three days of the life of Rudra, five of the life of Viṣṇu, and fifteen of the life of Brahmā. So, if he aspires to the highest Siddhi he must make no [such] discriminatory distinctions. O Empress of the Gods, it is [only] through [this] freedom from discrimination that one will certainly attain both Siddhi and liberation.

Rituals involving the participation of people of all castes, especially those considered untouchable, is a marked feature here,<sup>699</sup> and while the Saiddhāntikas were

<sup>699</sup> See, for example, SANDELSO 2007a, pp. 282–287 for a detailed account of the orgiastic *cakrakṛīḍā* (carnal play) given in the *Śrīrāghavāyidhi-pāṭalā* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s fourth *Ṣaṭha* and by Vimalaprabodha in his *Kālikulakramārcana*. The participation of women of the following castes/professions, in addition to those of the four Vārṇas, is prescribed in these sources: Pukhāsa, liquor-seller (*dhvājini*), Antyaṇa, potter (*cakrīni*), dyer (*chippīni*), butcher (*saunāki*), Mātanga, tanner (*carmakāri*), fisherman (*dhvārī*), prostitute (*vaiyā*), washerman (*dhāvāki*), and dancer (*nartakī*). The *Mādhavakula* (*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭha* 4, f. 128r7 [A]; paraphrased in *Tutūlaka* 29.66 and quoted by Jayaratha thereon [B]) lists nine such women in this context. They are the wives of a Mātanga, a Dombā, a butcher, a confectioner (*kandukā*) (*kanduki* A; *kārmuki* B), a tanner, a liquor-seller, a cremation-ground worker (*kāpālīkā*), a fisherman, and a potter. The words *kāpālīkā* and *kandukā* have not been registered in our dictionaries in the meanings attested here. The use of the former in the meaning 'cremation-ground worker'—see also *Narmamālā* 2.24d, *Rājatarangīni* 7.44ab and 8.995, and *Lokaprahāsa*, p. 6, l. 3 (*kāpālīkā* in a list of serving castes)—survives in the Kashmiri derivative *kāpālīkā* (GRIERSON 1915 and 1932, p. 495b41–46). For *kandukā* in the meaning 'confectioner' see Prakrit *kandūka* and *kandūsiya*. Such caste-promiscuous orgiastic rites are also attested by Kashmirian critics of Tantric practice. Ksemendra attacks them in *Daśavatāra-carita* 10.26 as a symptom of the degeneration of society that will herald the descent of Kalkin, Viṣṇu's tenth Avatāra: *cakrasaṅghaṭṭa* *raja-  
ratayakarmakarakāpālīkoprakramukhaśilpibhīr* *chapatre* | *pānena muktim evākalpa-  
ratotsavana* *ṛttena cotsavaratā guruto vadanti* [At that time] the Gurus teach that liberation is attained in a Cakra gathering by drinking [wine] from a single vessel with dyers of cloth, weavers, tanners, cremation-ground attendants, and other such persons of the service-castes (*śilpibhīr*), and through ecstatic orgies of indiscriminate love-making; and he gives a vivid description of such a Śākta ritual in *Narmamālā* 3.1–85 (84d: *nirvibhāgo bhavet teṣāṃ ratayakarmahotsavaḥ*). A tanner, a butcher, a potter, a fisherman, and a weaver are mentioned among the participants in 3.18–14. The Kashmirian historian Kalhana tells us that king Kulaśa (c. 1063–1089) fell under the corrupting influence of various Tantric teachers, one of whom he describes as a merchant who had become a Guru of dyers and other workers (*Rājatarangīni* 7.283: *rajaśāhādānāṃ śilpīnāṃ gurutaṃ agāt*) and was giving initiation to Bhairava-worshipping Śākta brahmins (*bhāṭṭapādā*) (7.283). Evidently the term *śilpī* used in this context by Ksemendra has a wider sense than that of 'artisan'

in general prepared to descend in the giving of full initiation only as far as members of those communities classed as Sacchūdra, the Śākta Śaivas had no such reservations, opening such initiation even to those that brahmanism considered untouchable. As evidence that such initiations were not merely prescribed, for such prescriptions might be more rhetorical than intended to support actual common practice, we have the testimony of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha in his commentary on the Saiddhāntika *Sārdhatrisatīkalottara*, addressing a verse in that scripture that might but for his learned intervention be taken to mean that Saiddhāntikas like himself are wrong to draw the line at the Sacchūdras. Indeed his Śākta Śaiva near-contemporary and fellow Kashmirian Abhinavagupta cites this verse as compelling evidence that Śiva has allowed elements of the non-dualistic, caste-transcending view of the Śāktas to shine through even in this dualistic stratum of his revelation:<sup>700</sup>

It is for this reason that even in these [dualistic scriptures] the Kaula doctrine is present for those who have perceived the [highest state of] resorption, as exemplified in such [texts] as the *Kālapāda* [in the statement] 'He may initiate even untouchables'.

The passage to which Abhinavagupta refers is this:<sup>701</sup>

The [transcendent] Śāntyatitā [Kālā] is the supreme, inactive, eternal void. When [a Guru] has gained knowledge of that, Skanda, he may initiate even untouchables.

Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha argues, as one would expect, that it is purely rhetorical in intention, but he introduces into his argument a report that the Śāktas were citing it in support of their practice of actually initiating such persons. Saiddhāntikas, he insists, must not follow their example.<sup>702</sup>

- given in the dictionaries. It denotes rather a person of any service-caste, who lives by providing a service to the pure castes, from weaving to disposing of the dead.

<sup>700</sup> *Malinivijayavartika* 1.196c–197b: *ata evāsti saṅghārādāṃ kaulīky apīha dṛk || yathoktaṃ kālapādāu dīkṣayec chvopacān iti*.

<sup>701</sup> *Sārdhatrisatīkalottara* 8.7: *śāntyatitā bhaved vyoma tat param śāntam avayam | tam viditv mahāsena śvopacān api dīkṣayet*. In the other recensions of this scripture the same expression appears in the *Trayodaśasatīka-Kālotara* (f. 23r5, *Dīkṣapāṭala* v.6: *śāntyatitā param vyoma sarvagam pāsamocakam | tam viditv mahāsena śvopacān api dīkṣayet*). But 'plants' take the place of 'untouchables' in the versions of the *Dvīśatīka-Kālotara* (f. 2v7, 5.5) (D) and *Saptasatīka-Kālotara* (f. 5v1–2, 8.7c–8b) (S): *\*śāntyatitāṃ S param vyoma tat param \*śāntam (D: param S) avayam | tam viditv mahāsena \*sthāvarāṇy api (D: sthāvarāṇy anu S) dīkṣayet*.

<sup>702</sup> *Sārdhatrisatīkalottara-vṛtti*, p. 65, ll. 6–10: *śvopacān api dīkṣayet ity atīśayārtho 'pīśabdopahitasya bhāvarthasya 'api parvatam śirasā bhīdyād' ityādaḥ iva 'paratīśayapratipādanārthatvena (em.: pare 'īśayapratipādanārthatvena Ed.) vīdhīśayavātsambha' vād itī śirasā parvatābhedaḥ van mlecchāśvopacāddīkṣaṇam atīśī 'mantayam (conj.: kartayam Ed.) eveti yuktaṃ vyākhyātum. na tu*







For if it had been, this Buddhist strategy could not have been recommended.

Our sources reveal, then, that the Śaivas extended their recruitment beyond the high-caste circles from which most of our evidence of the religion derives. But, of course, they do not readily reveal the extent to which it was adopted outside these élites. The epigraphical evidence is almost entirely restricted in this regard to records of the pious activities of rulers and brahmins, and the Śaiva sources, being largely prescriptive in their concerns, tell us much about what should or could be done by or for various categories of person but give us no sense of how widely these prescribed activities were adopted or supported. One of the tasks of future research, then, should be to gather data that will improve our ability to address this question. At present I have little to offer in this direction. But I can at least point to evidence that the fortunes of Śaivism were not as dependent on the favour of ruling dynasties as most of the data presented here might lead one to assume, enjoying at least in some regions such widespread acceptance that changes in the allegiance of a dynasty had little effect on its popularity. Research into recorded temple construction in the period 450–1050 in South and North Karnataka, that is to say, in the Tungabhadra-Kāveri and Tungabhadra-Bhīmā zones, has counted 164 Śaiva temples as against 30 Vaiṣṇava in the former and 199 Śaiva as against 32 Vaiṣṇava in the latter. This great preponderance of Śaiva foundations might be attributed solely to the predilection of the region's kings, were it not for the evidence of the next three centuries, when the region passed under the rule of the Hoysaḷas (c. 1047–c. 1345), who favoured Vaiṣṇavism over Śaivism. For we see a far smaller shift in the preponderance of Śaiva temples than the theory of dependence on royal patronage would lead us to expect. 293 Vaiṣṇava temples were established. But the total of new Śaiva foundations remains very high, at about 1,030.<sup>706</sup> This suggests the hypothesis that rulers who invested in Śaivism the wealth they acquired through conquest and revenue were also reflecting the deeply rooted preference of the majority of their subjects.

Similarly, in Kashmir the rule of the Vaiṣṇava Kārkoṭas (c. 626–855) was marked by the founding of many royal Viṣṇus, but it would seem that Śaivism, which predominates in the record of religious foundations in earlier times, had merely moved out of the limelight.<sup>707</sup> For immediately after the demise of that

dynasty it burst forth into its golden age.<sup>708</sup> The humbler religious landscape of small-scale religious devotion tells the same story. For among the very numerous pilgrimage sites of the region those sacred to Śiva, Bhairavas, and Śaiva goddesses are overwhelmingly in the majority. We see this in an abundant local literature of Māhātmyas, texts in Sanskrit promoting these sites; and we see it in what survives in manuscript of the *Kāśmīratīrthasamgraha*, a collection of abstracts of materials gathered without sectarian bias by the local Sanskrit scholar Sāhibrām (d. 1872) with the help of a staff of Paṇḍits for an extensive

say, c. 530–626, it is evident from numismatic data that it also disordered. But it is significant nonetheless that almost all the early foundations that Kalhana records other than Buddhist monasteries and brahmin settlements (Agrahāras) are Śaiva. Aśoka, evidently the emperor Aśoka of Buddhist fame, erects a stone enclosure for the national Śiva Vijayēśvara and two Aśokeśvaras within that enclosure (1.105–106). His son Jalauka establishes Jyēṣṭharudra in the capital (1.124), and builds a stone temple for Bhūteśvara at the Nandikētra (1.148). His wife Iśānadevi establishes circles of the Mothers (*mātrākram*) at the points of access to the valley (1.122). Rāvaṇa worships Vajreśvara, builds a Maṭha around it, and dedicates the country to its maintenance (1.195–196). The Hephthalite Huns, with whom his chronicle reaches kings known to us from other sources, are reported to have established Śivas, and, given that they were of Central Asian origin, this no doubt reflects the fact that Śaivism was the dominant tradition of their new subjects, though the Vaiṣṇavism that would come to the fore under the Kārkoṭas begins to overlay the Śaiva substrate during and after the interregnum of the non-Kashmirian Mātṛgupta. Mihirakula establishes a Mihireśvara in the capital (1.306). Baka establishes a Bakesvara (1.329), Gopāditya a Jyēṣṭheśvara (1.341), and Khinkhila Narendradītya shrines of Bhūteśvara (1.347). Tuñjina I, son of Jalauka (probably this is the Jalauka, founder of Jyēṣṭharudra, whom Kalhana makes the son of Aśoka), establishes a Tuṅgeśvara (2.14) and Sandhimat founds a Sandhīśvara, an Iśeśvara with the name of his Śaiva Guru Iśāṇa, and many other Liṅgas (2.131–134). Tuñjina Pravarasena I builds the temple of his Śiva Pravareśvara together with a circle of the Mothers (3.97). The short-reigned non-Kashmirian Mātṛgupta establishes a Viṣṇu Mātṛguptasvāmin (3.263). Pravarasena II (probably the successor of Mihirakula, and identical with Pravarasena I), represented by Kalhana as a supremely devout Śaiva, intends accordingly to install a Pravareśvara in the capital that he has founded with his name (Pravarapura), but a Viṣṇu miraculously takes its place, which the king names Jayasvāmin after the architect of the temple (3.350–351). But he installs Sadbhāvaśrī and four other (Śaiva) goddesses (3.353) in the capital. Lakhkhana Narendradītya, identified by STEIN (1900, vol. 1, p. 106) with the Lakhkhana Udayādītya whose name appears on a Kashmirian silver coin, establishes Viṣṇu Narendrasvāmin (3.383). His brother Tuñjina Raṇādītya prepares to install two Raṇeśvaras in two new temples but Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin miraculously takes the place of one through the influence of his wife Raṇārambhā (3.439–455). The couple establish a Viṣṇu Raṇārambhāsvāmin, a Śiva Raṇārambhāśvara, and a Maṭha for Pīśupatas (3.460). The king establishes the Sun-God Raṇapurāsvāmin (3.462), and Amṛtaprabhā, another wife of his, an Amṛteśvara (3.463). His son Vikramādītya establishes a Vikrameśvara (3.474) and his wife Bimbā a Bimbēśvara (3.482). On the later Hephthalites in Kashmir see DANI 1996.

<sup>708</sup> See SANDERSON 2007a, pp. 425–433.

<sup>706</sup> For all these data see SETTAR 1992, p. 43 and 54. I have added to the Śaiva totals those of the much less numerous Śākta temples.

<sup>707</sup> For knowledge of non-Buddhist religious foundations in Kashmir during the centuries before the advent of the Kārkoṭa dynasty we depend almost entirely on the account of Kalhana's *Rajatarangīni*. It is highly unreliable for this period, being wildly inaccurate in its chronology, and, in the case of the Hunnic Hephthalite kings that reigned from the time of Mihirakula to the advent of the Kārkoṭas, that is to



descriptive survey of these sites and their traditions commissioned by Mahārāja Rāṇbir Singh (r. 1868–1885).<sup>709</sup> We also see it in the information on the sacred sites of Kashmir, probably compiled around the seventh century, that is found in the Kashmirian *Nilamata-purāṇa*,<sup>710</sup> and in the list of the major shrines of the valley given by Kalhaṇa in the twelfth century in the preamble of his history of the country.<sup>711</sup>

Relevant evidence of another kind is available for Andhra and the Far South, since there, where culturally hostile invaders made fewer and less damaging incursions, there remains intact a much larger body of epigraphical evidence recording pious donations, engraved on the walls of the temples of the deities to which they were made. A survey of temple building and donation in Andhra during the thirteenth century under the Kākatiyas of Warangal has shown that the great majority of endowed deities mentioned in the epigraphical corpus were Śaiva. 247 Śiva temples constitute 67 per cent of the total and Vaiṣṇava temples only 19 per cent, and the latter are mostly south of the Krishna river, increasing in frequency the further south they are, no doubt under the influence of the resurgence of Vaiṣṇavism in the Tamil region after Rāmānuja (d. 1137). From the record of those who made donations to these Śaiva temples, particularly to long-established, major temples such as those of Drāksārāma and Tripurāntaka, we can see that they were far from being restricted to the circles of royalty or the landed gentry. A high proportion of the donations are from herders, women, and traders.<sup>712</sup> Likewise in the Tamil country we find in Cola times (850–1279) a number of records of donations to Śiva temples made by members of the Sacchūdra Vellāla caste, the dominant cultivators of the region.<sup>713</sup>

<sup>709</sup> On the Kashmirian Māhātmya literature and the *Kāśmīratīrthasamgraha* of Sūhīrām see STEIN 1900, vol. 2, pp. 383–385.

<sup>710</sup> See TOKUNAGA 1994.

<sup>711</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 1.29–38. Here he mentions the following as the principal deities of the region: Gaurī in the form of the river Viṭastā, the Nāgas “Sankha, Padma, and others”, Pāpasūdana (the Śiva Kapateśvara), the goddess Sāṃdhya (Sāṃdhyaśāhāṭīrīkā), Svayambhū (a Śiva), Bhedādevī, (the Śivas of the) Nandiksetra (Bhūteśvara and Jyeṣṭheśvara), Śārādādevī, Cakradhara (Viṣṇu), and Vijayaśiva (Śiva).

<sup>712</sup> This evidence is derived from the work of TALBOT (2001, pp. 87–125), who provides detailed statistics and on their basis presents a cogent analysis of the patterns of temple patronage in this region and period.

<sup>713</sup> For Vellālas who gave to Śaiva temples, most commonly cattle or cash to provide an income to fund a perpetual lamp, see, e.g., *SII* 3:17 of A.D. 1014; *SII* 3:116 of A.D. 991; *SII* 13:34 (ARE 312 of 1906) of A.D. 941; *SII* 13:44 (ARE 227 of 1911); *SII* 13:56 (ARE 542 of 1920); *SII* 13:62 (ARE 618 of 1920); *SII* 13:66 (ARE 238 of 1923); *SII* 13:112 (ARE 126 of 1914); *SII* 13:189 (ARE 332 of 1927); *SII* 13:300 (ARE 5 of 1907) of A.D. 871–907; *SII* 13:47 (ARE 216 of 1932–1933); *SII* 14:47 (ARE 216 of 1932–33); *SII* 14:131 (ARE 213 of 1932–33); *SII* 14:135 (ARE 416 of 1929–30); *SII*

There is another manner in which Śaivism is likely to have played a significant part in the process of social integration during this period, one which I wish to touch on only briefly and tentatively at this stage. This was in the incorporation of the many local deity-cults of the regions being drawn into the orbit of the state and its patronage of religion. In this it seems that it was the non-Saiddhāntika traditions of the worship of Bhairavas, goddesses, and Yoginīs, with their indifference to caste-status and brahmanical criteria of purity and their cults of possession that are likely to have provided the avenue of assimilation.<sup>714</sup> It seems likely, though difficult to prove, that much of the character of these traditions resulted from this process of incorporation on the frontier between the brahmanical and the not yet brahmanized.

### THE ŚAIVA-BRAHMANICAL ORDER

While extending its influence far beyond the confines of the orthodox brahmanical world the Śaivism of the Mantramārga sought to guard itself against dissociation from that world. It elaborated an inclusivist model of revelation that ranked other religious systems as stages of an ascent to liberation in Śaivism,<sup>715</sup>

14:140 (ARE 76 of 1907); *SII* 14:155 (ARE 77 of 1907); *SII* 14:202 (ARE 394 of 1929–30); *SII* 14:246 (ARE 108 of 1908); *SII* 17:197 (ARE 176 of 1904) of A.D. 1018–19; *SII* 17: 204 (ARE 183 of 1904); *SII* 17:238 (ARE 216 of 1904) of A.D. 1006/7 (with a Valaṅgi Vellākkār soldier); *SII* 17:471 (ARE 440 of 1904) of A.D. 990/991; *SII* 2:95 (a merchant [vyāpārīn]); *SII* 17:315 (ARE 286 of 1904) (a Valaṅgi Vellākkār soldier) of A.D. 1016. See also GHOSE 1996, pp. 277–282 on the predominance of the upper strata of non-brahmin society in temple patronage in recent times.

<sup>714</sup> On the process by which local deities, often of tribal origin, were assimilated into Śākta Śaivism through their adoption as the tutelaries of local rulers see SINHA 1962 and 1987; and MALLEBRIN and VON STIETENCROON 2008, pp. 39–67, 93–107, and 173–178. See also CHAKRABARTI 2001, especially pp. 165–233 (Chapter 5: ‘Appropriation as a Historical Process: The Cult of the Goddess’), for the case of Bengal. See SINHA KAPUR 2002, pp. 203–225 on the case of Mewar in Rajasthan.

<sup>715</sup> See, e.g., *Svacchanda* 11.69–74 (Buddhists > Jainas > Vaidikas > Sāṃkhyas > Yogasthas > Pāsupatas > Mausulas and Kārukas > Vaimalas and Lūkulas > Śaivas); *Sarvajñānottara* A f. 37r–1, B p. 96 (*Liṅgadhāradīprakaraṇa* v. 3): *jānācaryā-nīto buddho buddhitattvaṃ avāpnuyāt | tāmasaṃ \*jinabhaktas tu pauroṣaṃ brahmadevinaḥ || 4 kevalārthavidaḥ kalam prānuvanti jitenriyāḥ | vaidyēśvareśvare tattve somasiddhāntavedināḥ* (A : (A : *jinabhaktānāṃ prānuvanti + + +* B); Āgama quoted by Bhāṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha in *Nareśvara-parīkṣāprakāśa*, p. 207: *buddhitattve śhītā buddhā guṇesu tu ārhatāḥ śhītāḥ | guṇamārḍhni śhītāḥ śāṃkhyā avyakte pāncārītrikāḥ; Somaśambhu, BRUNNER 1977, p. 553 (vv. 7–8): buddhitattve śhītā buddhā jainas tu guṇamastake | vedāntajñas tu tadyonau puruṣe bhagavanmukhāḥ | pāsupatās tu māyayām vidyayām tu mahāvratāḥ. buddhādīlingināṃ eṣāṃ mukhishānāny anukramāt; Trilocaśaśiva, Siddhānta-samuccaya*, pp. 73–87; Kṣemarāja, *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* on *Sūtra* 8 (*adbhūmikāḥ sarvadarśanasthityaḥ* ‘The positions of all doctrines are its stages’); and here p. 47 (*Manthānabhairava*).



the religion of the king manifest in his initiation, his consecration, and his royal temples, thus mirroring and validating the incorporative structure of the state's power. But though it thereby asserted, especially in its Śākta forms, the limited nature of the brahmanical observance that formed the lowest level and broad base of this hierarchy, it was careful to insist not only that the brahmanical scriptures that govern this observance are exclusively valid in their own domain but also that their injunctions are as binding on Śaivas after their initiation as they were before it if they remained in that domain as active members of society. Śaiva ascetics were allowed a degree of choice in this matter, at least in theory, but householders were not.<sup>716</sup> The religion of the Śaivas, then, was not Śaivism alone but rather Śaivism and Brahmanism, a fact born out not only by their literature but also by biographical data and the epigraphic record of the activities of Śaiva kings.

Moreover, the determination of the Śaivism of the Mantramārga to be fully embedded in the brahmanical tradition is manifest not only in this rule that initiates should maintain their brahmanical obligations but also in the fact that they extended their own ritual repertoire in order to bring it into greater congruence with the brahmanical. To this end they created a Śaiva ritual of cremation and a series of rituals to mirror the numerous brahmanical postmortuary rituals in which the deceased receives offerings first as a hungry ghost (*pretakriyā*) and then in Śrāddha rituals as an ancestor, after his incorporation with the immediate ascendants of his patriline (*sapindikaraṇam*). It is clear that the creators of these additions were motivated by nothing but the desire to be seen to conform to the norms of brahmanical society once the Śaivas had moved to extend recruitment beyond the inevitably restricted circle of ascetics into the more numerous ranks of married householders. For these rituals and especially the Śrāddhas make no sense in strictly Śaiva terms, since initiates are held to attain liberation as soon as they leave their bodies and therefore should require no ceremonies designed to ensure their well-being after death.<sup>717</sup> This accommodation of Brah-

manism no doubt gave Śaivism a distinct advantage over those religions that denied outright the authority of the brahmanical scriptures and there can be little doubt that this would greatly have increased its acceptability in the eyes of kings, who could thus draw on the power of the new religion to sanctify their rule and enhance their might—the former predominantly through the Siddhānta, the latter predominantly through the Śākta Śaiva systems—while at the same time maintaining their legitimacy in their ancient role as the protectors of the brahmanical social order.

As Śaivism advanced by developing the strategies explored in this study it achieved a transregional organization and a consequent standardization of its rituals and doctrines; and this transregional uniformity, I propose, would have heightened its appeal to kings by enabling it more easily to be perceived as a transcendent means of legitimization, empowerment, and the integration of regional traditions, as an essential part of a pan-Indian socio-religious order that each kingdom sought to exemplify. It was by virtue of its great success in attracting royal patronage that it came to exert such a pervasive influence on the religions around it; and it was also on the basis of this success that it could construct the impressive edifice of a literature that is almost entirely silent about these vital but less elevated aspects of its life.

<sup>716</sup> The Śaivas' doctrines of the relationship between their scriptures and those of the brahmanical tradition with respect both to householders and ascetics are examined in detail together with epigraphical evidence in SANDERSON forthcoming b.

<sup>717</sup> For a more detailed examination of the Śaiva postmortuary rituals and their rationale see SANDERSON 1995a, pp. 31–38. They are not found in the preceding Pāṇḍita tradition of the Atimārga, in which the dead were buried, nor indeed in the earliest stage of the Mantramārga represented by the substantial *Nirvāsa* corpus, which in this and numerous other respects remained close to its Atimārgic antecedents, appearing only in the *Dikṣottara*, which was added to that corpus at a later date, and in several other later scriptures of the Siddhānta, most notably in the *Kṛpā*, whose treatment of the Śrāddha rituals became the basis for that found in the Pūddhati of Somaśambhu and the later Pūddhati that followed its

lead. An intermediate stage in this development is probably to be recognized in the *Sarvajñānottara* and the *Śrāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, which teach a cremation ritual for initiates but make no mention of Śrāddha rituals. I say that the Śrāddhas make less sense in strictly Śaiva terms, because some attempt was made to justify cremation. To create their cremation ritual the Śaivas adapted their ritual of initiation. The soul of the deceased is to be drawn back into the corpse before it is burned on the pyre in order to undergo initiation, just as it did in life. Since the function of initiation is to liberate the soul by destroying all that impedes its liberation this re-initiation of the deceased was justified as a means of eliminating any obstacles that might still be present as a result of the initiate's failure to expiate breaches of discipline that had not been expiated during his lifetime.



# ABBREVIATIONS

- AIISPL = American Institute of Indian Studies Photograph Library  
 ARE = Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy  
 ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal  
 ASI = Archaeological Survey of India  
 BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient  
 Blue Annals = ROERICH 1995.  
 BORI = Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute  
 CII 3 = FLEET 1888  
 CII 4 = MIRASHI 1955  
 CII 5 = MIRASHI 1963  
 DK = Derge Kanjur  
 DT = Derge Tenjur  
 EC = Epigraphia Carnatica  
 EFEO = École française d'Extrême-Orient  
 EI = Epigraphia Indica  
 EITA = MEISTER et. al. 1983-1991  
 GOS = Gackwad's Oriental Series  
 HBI = CHIMPA and CHATTOPADHYAYA 1990  
 IA = Indian Antiquary  
 IASWR = Institute for the Advanced Study of World Religions  
 IAR = Indian Archaeology, A Review  
 IFI = Institut français d'Indologie  
 IFP = Institut français de Pondichéry  
 IJ = Indo-Iranian Journal  
 ISCC = BERGAIGNE 1893  
 JA = Journal Asiatique  
 K = Khmer inscription, numbered as in Cœdès 1966  
 KKK = Kaiser Library, Kathmandu  
 KSTS = Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies  
 LKA = VAJRĀCĀRYA 1996  
 NAK = National Archives, Kathmandu  
 NGMPP = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel number

BLO = Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

r. = ruled

SII = South Indian Inscriptions

SORL = Srinagar, Oriental Research Library, Jammu & Kashmir Research and Publication Department

T = TAKAKUSU and WATANABE 1924-1932

Tōh. = Uti et al. 1934

TUL = Tokyo University Library

ULC = University Library, Cambridge

Xiyu ji = BEAL 1884

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- Karmakāṇḍa*, vol. 4 (*paṇḍitakṣatrabhaṭṭaḥyotirvidā saṃskārasādhanaśikṣāḥ saṃpāditam āṇḍopāṇḍa-viṣṇubhūti-sāṅga-sāvakriyātmakam karmakāṇḍam, catvārthapustakam*), ed. Puṇḍita Kṣatrabhaṭṭa Jyotiṛvid. Bombay, 1936; reproduced photographically by Lokesh Chandra in pp. 127–247 of volume 7 of *Sanskrit Texts from Kashmir*, Śatapiṭaka Series 333, New Delhi, 1984.

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- Kalādikṣāpaddhati* of Manoda, expanded (*viśāritāḥ*) by Śivasvāmin. A = BORI 157 of 1886-92 (*Kalādikṣāvidhi*): paper; Śāradā script; B = BORI MS 440 of 1875-76; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.
- Kāṭhakaṅkṛṣyasūtra* with extracts from the commentaries of Devapāla, Brāhmaṇabala, and Ādityadarśana, ed. Willem Caland. Śrīmaddayānanda Mahāvidyālaya Saṃskṛtagraṇthamālā 1. Lahore: Research Dept., D.A.V. College, 1925.
- Kāmika*. No editor accredited: published by C. Swaminatha Sivacarya. Madras: Dakṣiṇābhāratārcakasāṅgha, 1975.
- Kāraṇḍavyūha*, ed. P.L. Vaidya. Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha, Part 1, Sūtra 12, pp. 258–308. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1961.
- Kālikulakramasadbhāva*. NAK MS 1-76, NGMPP A209/23: paper; Newari script; incomplete (1.1–7.2).
- Kālikulakramārcaṇa* of Vimalaprabodha. NAK MS 3-314, NGMPP A129/9: paper; Newari script; undated.
- Kālotaratantra*. NAK MS 5-4632, NGMPP B118/7: paper; Devanāgarī. The codex contains in sequence the following texts: (1) *Kālotare Jñānapañcāśikā*, ff. 1v1–4v7 (not a *Kālotara* recension; see GOODALL 2007, pp. 127–128), (2) *Kālañāne Śatikam*, ff. 4v7–9r6; (3) *Kālotare Sārḍhaśatikam*, ff. 1v1–6v9; (4) *Kālotare Dviśatikam*, ff. 1v1–9v3; (5) *Kālotare 'dhyuṣṭasatam* (*Sārḍhatrisatikam*), ff. 1v1–17v3; (6) *Kālotare Saptasatikam*, ff. 1v1–25r3; (7) *Kālotare Trayodaśasatikam*, ff. 1v1–46v7. This appears to be an apograph of NAK MS 1-1114, NGMPP B25/7, an undated Nepalese palm-leaf MS in the Nāgarī script, except that it has added the *Sārḍhaśatika* recension from some other source (GOODALL 2007, p. 129).
- Kāśīkārṭti* of Jayāditya and Vāmana on the *Āgādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, ed. Puṇḍita Śobhitaśrī. Kāśī-saṃskṛta-graṇthamālā 37. Banaras: Jaya Krishna Das Haridas Gupta, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1952.
- Kāśmīratīrthasaṃgraha*, materials compiled by Sāhitrām for Mahārāja Ranbir Singh (r. 1868–1885). BLO MS Stein d. 33 iii: paper; Śāradā script; incomplete.
- Kīraṇa*. NAK MS 5-893, NGMPP A40/3 (= *Kīrapatantra*, *Kīraṇāgama*): palm-leaf; Licchavi script; incomplete; A.D. 924. For chapters 1–6 with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṭṭha; see GOODALL 1998.
- Kubjikāmata*. See GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1988.
- Kumārāpārasāritasāṃgraha*: *bhinnabhinnā-vidvatsaṃgraha paramārthabhi-*



- rudāṅkṛtagūrjaracaulukyacakravartī-nṛpatikumārāpālacaritrasaṃgraha* / *Kumārāpāla Charitrasaṃgraha* (A Collection of Works of Various Authors Relating to Life of King Kumarapala of Gujarat), ed. Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni. Singhi Jain Series 41. Bombay: Singhi Jain Shastra Shikshapath, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956.
- Kumārāpāladevacarita* of Somatilakasūri. *Kumārāpālacaritrasaṃgraha*, pp. 9–33.
- Kumārāpāladevaprabandha* of the *Caturāṣṭiprabandha*. *Kumārāpālacaritrasaṃgraha*, pp. 112i–112xxiv.
- Kumārāpālaprabodhaprabandha*, anonymous. *Kumārāpālacaritrasaṃgraha*, pp. 35–111.
- Kumārāsambhava* of Kālidāsa, Cantos 1–8, with the commentary (*-saṃjivānī*) of Mallinātha, ed. M.R. Kale, Bombay: Gopal Narayan, 1923.
- Kularatnodyota*: *Kularatnodyotatantra*. NAK MS 1-16, NGMPP A206/10: paper; Newari script; A.D. 1734.
- Kulasāra*. NAK 4-137, NGMPP A40/11: palm-leaf; early Nāgarī.
- Kṛtyakālpataru*: *Kṛtyakālpataru of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara*. Vol. III, *Niyatakalakāṇḍa*, ed K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1950.
- Kṛṣṇayāmāritantra*, with the commentary (*ratnāvalī nāma pañjikā*) of Kumārācandra, ed. S. Rinpoche and V. Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series 9. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1992.
- Kṛtyākāṇḍakramāvalī* of Somaśambhu. ULC MS Add 1406 12: palm-leaf; Newari script; undated (12th century); KLC MS 539, NGMPP C114/22 (*'Kṛtyākāṇḍapadākramāvalī'*): palm-leaf; Newari script; A.D. 1159. See *Somaśambhupaddhati* and *Karmakāṇḍakramāvalī*.
- Kṛtyākramadyotikā*. IFP MS Transcript 1076. A Śaiva miscellany.
- Kṛtyākramadyotikāvūkyā* of Kacchapeśvaraśiva. IFP MS Transcript 109.
- Kṛtyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta. See TANEMURA 2004b.
- Kṛtyāsaṃgrahapaddhati* of Vāladhārīn. KLC MS 63; NGMPP C5/3: palm-leaf; Bhujimol script; A.D. 1091/2.
- Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* of Vardhamāna with his own commentary (*-vṛtti*), ed. J. Eggeling. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963. First published 1879.
- Gilgit Manuscript Facsimiles: Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra. Śata-piṭaka, Indo-Asian literatures, v. 10, parts. 1–10. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959.
- Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt with the assistance of D.M. Bhattacharya and Shiv Nath Sharma. 4 volumes (volume 3 in 3 parts). Srinagar:

- His Highness' Government, Jammu and Kashmir, 1939–1959.
- Gitābhāṣya* of Śaṅkara with the sub-commentary of Ānandagiri, ed. Kāśinātha Śāstri Āgāse. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 34. Pune: Ānandāśrama Press, 1931.
- Gurupañcāśikā* of Āryadeva, vv. 1–33, ed. Sylvain Lévi (1929, pp. 259–263); vv. 34–60 reconstructed from the Tibetan translation by J. Pandey in *Dhī* 13 (1992), pp. 16–20.
- Gurupustikā* of Rājānaka Śitikanṭha. Banaras Hindu University, Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Central Library, MS CN. 4115: paper: Śāradā script; complete but for the end of the last section.
- Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*. BLO MS Sansk. c.16: palm-leaf; Newari script; 13th century (?).
- Guhyasamāja*. See MATSUNAGA 1978.
- \**Guhyasamājapañjikā* of Ānandagarbha. See *gSang ba 'dus pa'i dka' grel* under Tibetan Texts.
- Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* of Dipaṅkarabhadra. Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Cod. MS. Sanscr. 257: palm-leaf; proto-Bengali script; incomplete, lacking the final folio. This codex, which contains several works of which this is the last, was formerly in the Phyang dpe lha khang chen mo of the Sa skya monastery, where it was photographed by Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyana (ISAACSON 2002, pp. 152–153).
- Guhyasiddhi*. In *Guhyādi-āṣṭasiddhisāṃgraha*, pp. 1–63 (Sanskrit); pp. 1–107 (Tibetan).
- Guhyādi-āṣṭasiddhisāṃgraha* / *gSang pa grub pa logs pa'i grub pa sde bgyad bzugs*, ed. Samdhong Rinpoche and Vajrallabha Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Texts Series 1. Two parts: Sanskrit text and the Tibetan translation. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1987.
- Gūḍhapadā* of Advayavajra. A commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. Royal Asiatic Society, London, Hodgson MS 34: palm-leaf; Newari script; undated.
- Gopālarājavarasāvalī*. NAK MS 1-1583, NGMPP B18/23: palm-leaf; Newari script. See VAJRĀCĀRYA and MALLA 1985.
- Cakrasaṃvaraṭikā* of Devagupta. See *'Khor lo sdom pa'i sgrub thabs gnas thams cad rgya cher 'grel* under Tibetan Texts.
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Indrabhūti. See *'Khor lo sdom pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po bde mchog bsdus pa zhes bya ba'i rnam par bshad* under Tibetan Texts.
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Kambalapāda. See *Sādhanaṇidhi*.
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Jayabhadra. SUGIKI 2001.
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Durjayacandra. See *Rin po che'i tshogs zhes bya ba dka' 'grel* under Tibetan Texts.



- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Bhavabhāṭṭa. IASWR Film-strip MBB-1-33: palm-leaf; Newari script (Bhujimol).
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Bhavabhāṭṭa, ed. Janardan Shastri Pandey. Rare Buddhist Texts Series 26. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 2002.
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Bhavyakīrti. See *Khor lo sdom pa'i dka' 'grel dpa' bo'i yid du 'ong bhes hya ba* under Tibetan Texts.
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Viravajra. See *Yon tan ma lus pa'i gnas zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa* under Tibetan Texts.
- Cakrasaṃvaravṛtti* of Śāśvatavajra. See *De kho na nyid mkhas pa* under Tibetan Texts.
- Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra: The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I-VIII. A Critical Edition and English translation* by Christopher S. George. American Oriental Series 56. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1974.
- Caturyoginsamputa*. An unpublished transcript prepared by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson from incomplete photographs of a palm-leaf manuscript taken by Giuseppe Tucci in Tibet, preserved in Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome, in a folder marked Mahakalaparaṅga 42.
- Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri, ed. Paṇḍita Bharatacandra Śiromaṇi, Yogeśvara Bhāṭṭācārya, Kāmākhyānātha Tarkaratna, Yajñeśvara Smṛitratna, and Pramathanātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa. 6 volumes. Bibliotheca Indica 72. Calcutta: ASB, 1873-1911.
- Catuppiṭhatantra*. NAK MS 1-1078, NGMPP B26/23 (*'Prakarāṇatantra'*): palm-leaf; Newari script; perhaps 11th century.
- Catuppiṭhanibandha* of Bhavabhāṭṭa. KLM MS 134, NGMPP C14/11: palm-leaf; Gomol script; perhaps 13th century.
- Catuppiṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā* of Caryāvratipāda. NAK MS 5-89/1, NGMPP A1298/6 and (duplicate) B30/35: palm-leaf; Bhujimol script; second half of the 11th century.
- Caryāmelāpakaṇḍapāda* of Āryadeva, ed. Janardan Shastri Pandey. Rare Buddhist Text Series 22. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 2000.
- Cīcīṇīkaulānām gurusāṅgatiḥ*. NAK MS 4-304 (*'Tvaritāvidhānasūtra'*), NGMPP A59/13: palm-leaf; Devanāgarī; incomplete. Folios 1-5, 7-12, and 14 are at the beginning of the film and ff. 15-23 are at its end, with the *Tvaritāvidhānasūtra* in the middle. Transcript prepared by Dr. Diwakar Acharya.
- Cīcīṇīmatasūtrasamuccaya*. NAK MS 1-767, NGMPP B157/19: paper; Newari script; A.D. 1754.

- Chummāsamketaparakāśa* of Nīṣkriyānandanātha, redacted by Anantaśakti. A = Sayaji Gaekwad Central Library, Banaras Hindu University, MS CN. 491. Acc. 328180: paper; Śāradā script; lacking the beginning; B = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz Hs or 11387 (*'Triṇṣaccarcārahasya'*): paper; Śāradā script; lacking the beginning and end.
- Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka* 1. NAK MS 5-4650, NGMPP B122/7: paper; Devanāgarī.
- Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka* 2. NAK MS 5-4650, NGMPP A153/3: paper; Devanāgarī.
- Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka* 3. A = NAK MS 5-722, NGMPP B26/9: palm-leaf; 'Pāla-Sena' Devanāgarī; probably 12th century; B = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Hs or 8535: paper; Newari script; A.D. 1667; C = Kaiser Library 728, NGMPP C72/1: paper; Newari script; A.D. 1671; D = NAK MS 5-1975, NGMPP A152/9: paper; Newari script; A.D. 1687; E = NAK MS 1-375, NGMPP B121/13: paper; Newari script.
- Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka* 4. NAK MS 1-1468, NGMPP B122/4: paper; Newari script; A.D. 1626/7.
- Jayabhadra*. See *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*.
- Jayākhyasaṃhitā*. NAK MS 1-49 (*'Jayākṣarasamhitā'*), NGMPP B29/3: palm-leaf; Newari script; incomplete; A.D. 1395.
- Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, ed. Embar Krishnamacharya. GOS 54. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931.
- Jayottara*. NAK MS 4/82, NGMPP A1306/24: palm-leaf; Newari script; A.D. 1383. Draft edition prepared by Dr. Diwakar Acharya.
- Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānaśivācārya. IFP MS Transcript 231.
- Jñānalakṣmī* of Sādhaka Candradatta, disciple of Ekāyanācārya Nārāyaṇagarbha. NAK MS 1-1633 (*'Jayākṣarasamhitā'*), NGMPP A44/7: palm-leaf; Newari script; incomplete; A.D. 1187.
- Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti. In *Guhyaḍī-aṣṭasiddhisāṅgraha*, pp. 89-157 (Sanskrit).
- Jñānasiddhyōgama*. IFP MS Transcript 507, pp. 395-481.
- Jñānodayatāntra*, ed. Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series 3. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1988.
- Ḍākārnava: Ḍākārnavamahāyoginītantra*. NAK MS 3-293, NGMPP A138/9: paper; Newari script; perhaps 13th century; some folios in a later hand; Tibetan annotations in cursive (*dbu med*) script in the upper and/or lower margins of several folios.
- Tattvaratnāvalī* of Advayavajra, ed. H. U. in U1 1963, pp. 1-52.



- Tattvaratnāvaloka* of Vāgīśvarakīrti with his own commentary -*vivarāṇa*, ed. Janardan Pandey. Sarnath: Central Institute of High Tibetan Studies, 1997.
- Tattvasiddhi* of Śāntarakṣita. A = Baroda Oriental Institute, MS 56, ff. 91v4-108r4: paper; Nepalese Devanāgarī; B = NAK MS 5-45, NGMPP A134/2 ('*Guhyasiddhyādināgarjunopādādi*'), ff. 37v10-44v8: paper; Nepalese Devanāgarī. See *De kho na nyid grub pa* under Tibetan Texts.
- Tantrasadbhāva*. NAK MS 5-445, NGMPP A44/2: palm-leaf; Kuṭila script.
- Tantrasārasaṅgraha* (also known as the *Nārāyaṇīya*): *Tantrasārasaṅgraha* by Nārāyaṇa with *Mantravimarśinī* Commentary by Svarṇagrāma Vāsudeva, ed. N.V.P. Unni. 2 vols. Calicut University Sanskrit Series 15-16. Calicut: University of Calicut, 2002.
- Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta with the commentary (-*viveka*) of Rājānaka Jayarātha, ed. Mukund Rām Śāstri. KSTS 23, 28, 30, 35, 29, 41, 47, 59, 52, 57, 58. Bombay and Srinagar, 1918-38.
- Tarkabhāṣā* of Mokṣākaragupta, ed. Embar Krishnamacharya. GOS 94. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1942.
- Tārābhaktisudhārṇava* of Nṛsiṃha Ṭhakkura, ed. Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya. Tantrik Texts 21. Calcutta: Sanskrit Book Depot, 1983.
- Tōḍalatantra*, ed. Gopinātha Kavirāja. *Tantrasaṅgraha*, Part 2, pp. 63-94. Yogatantra-granthamala 4. Varanasi: Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 1970.
- Trayodaśasatika-Kālotara*. See *Kālotaratāntra*.
- Daśavatāracarita* of Kṣemendra, ed. Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab. Kāvya-mālā 26. Bombay: Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, 1991.
- Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena, ed. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya. Bibliotheca Indica 274 (fasc. 1-4). Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1953-1956.
- Dikṣādarśa* of Vedājñānaguru II. IFP MS Transcripts 76 (A) and 163 (B).
- Dikṣāvidhi*. NGMPP E 1203/3: paper; Newari script; A.D. 1829.
- Dīptāgama*. IFP MS Transcript 15.
- Durgāpūjātattva* of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, ed. Satiśa Candra Siddhānta-bhūṣaṇa, Calcutta: Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, 1922.
- Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī* of Vidyāpati, ed. Īśāna Candra Śarman Calcutta: Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, 1932.
- Durjayacandra. See *Rin po che'i tshogs zhes bya ba dka' 'grel* under Tibetan Texts.
- Devagupta. See *'Khor lo sdom pa'i sgrub thabs gnas thams cad rgya cher 'grel* under Tibetan Texts.
- Devāmṛtapāñcarātra*. NAK MS 1/1078, NGMPP B 29/2: palm-leaf; Newari script; probably 12th century. Transcript prepared by Dr. Diwakar Acharya.

- \**Devitāntrasadbhāvasāra*, a text on the cult of the Śaiva *vāmasrotāḥ* by an unnamed author. *Gilgit Manuscript Facsimiles*, 3221-3222 and 3340-3341: birch-bark; proto-Śāradā script; incomplete (the first two folios only); undated; probably mid-6th century.
- Devīdūyārdaśatikā*. NAK MS 1-242, NGMPP A161/12 Paper; Newari script; undated.
- Devīpurāṇa*, ed. Panchanan Tarkaratna and Srijib Nyayaratna. Calcutta: Nav-abharati, 1977.
- Devīāmata*. NAK MS 1-279, NGMPP A41/15 ('*Niśvāsamahātāntrāntargatapra-tiṣṭhātāntra*'): palm-leaf; Newari script; A.D. 1060.
- Dviśatikā-Kālotara*. See *Kālotaratāntra*.
- \**Nayatrāyapradīpa*. See *Tshul gsum gyi sgron ma* under Tibetan Texts.
- Nareśvaraparikṣāprakāśa*, the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha on the *Nareśvaraparikṣā* of Sadyojyotiṣ, ed. Madhusudan Kaul Shastri. KSTS 45. Srinagar, 1926.
- Narmamālā* of Kṣemendra: *The Deśopadeśa & Narmamālā* of Kṣemendra, ed. Madhusudan Kaul Shāstri. KSTS 40. Srinagar, 1927. Also BALDISSERA 2005.
- Navarātrapūjāvidhi* A. NGMPP E 88/11: paper; Newari script; 152 folios; Sanskrit and Newari.
- Navarātrapūjāvidhi* B. NGMPP E 2363/29: paper, thyāsapu; Newari script; 81 folios; Sanskrit and Newari.
- Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of Padmagupta alias Parimala, ed. Paṇḍit Vāmana Śāstri Islāmpurkār. Bombay Sanskrit Series 53. Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1995.
- Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*, the commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* by Ācārya Vilāsavajra, also called Viśvarūpa, of Ratnadvīpa, maternal nephew of Agrabodhi. A = ULC MS Add. 1708: palm-leaf; Newari script; A.D. 1457 (?); B = NGMPP E360/16: paper; Newari and Devanāgarī scripts. For a critical edition of chapters 1-5 see TRIBE 1994.
- Nityākaula*. NAK MS 2-226, NGMPP B 26/21: palm-leaf; badly damaged and incomplete (ff. 2-3 and 6-13), breaking off in the sixth Paṭala.
- Nityādisaṅgraha* compiled by Rājanaka Takṣakavarta. BORI MS 76 of 1875-76: paper; Śāradā ('*Bhṛṅgeśasaṃhitā*'); exemplar of BLO MS Stein Or. d. 43 ('*Nityādisaṅgrahābhīdhānapaddhati*').
- Nityāhnikatīlaka* of Śrīkaṇṭhasūnu. NAK MS 3-384, NGMPP B 41/11: palm-leaf; Newari script; A.D. 1153.
- Niśisaṃcāra*. NAK MS 1-1606, NGMPP B 26/25: palm-leaf; Nepalese Kuṭila script; probably before 1100.
- Niruktabhāṣya* of Yāska with the *Niruktaviṣṭi* of Mukunda Śarma: *The Niruk-*



- tam of Yaska Muni (in the form of the Nighaṇṭu Bhāṣya of Kaśyapa Prajāpati) with the Niruktavīrti and Exhaustive Notes*, ed. Mukund Lha Bakshi. Panini Vaidika Granthamala 12. New Delhi: Panini, 1982.
- Nidāśakārikā*. IFP MS Transcript 17.
- Nidāśatattvasaṃhitā*. NAK MS 1-277: palm-leaf; Newari script; undated; probably second half of the ninth century.
- Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākara-gupta, ed. B. Bhattacharya. GOS 109. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1949 (A); *The Niṣpannayogāvalī by Abhayākara-gupta. A New Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text (Revised Edition)*, ed. Yong-hyun Lee. Seoul: Baegun Press, 2004 (B).
- Netratāntra* with the commentary (*Netroddyota*) of Rājānaka Kṣemarāja, ed. Madhusūdan Kaul Śāstri. KSTS 46, 59. Bombay, 1926 and 1939.
- Naimittikakarmānusāṃdhāna* of Brahmaśambhu. Calcutta, ASB, MS G 4767: palm-leaf; Newari script; incomplete; undated but probably eleventh century.
- Pañcakramaṭippaṇi* (*Yogimanoharā*) of Munīśrībhadrā, ed. Zhongxin Jiang and Toru Tomabechi. Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft/Société Suisse-Asie Monographie Band/Volume 23. Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Pāñcasāyaka-maṇi-jarī* of Jyotirīśvara, ed. Dhuṇḍirāja Śāstri in *Kāmakūjalatā* (A Collection of Old and Rare Works on Kāma Śāstra). Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1967.
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#### CONVENTIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES

Where I have rejected the reading of a text-edition, inscription, or manuscript, I have substituted my proposed reading and marked the point at which it begins with a superscript asterisk. Its end is indicated by the beginning of the parenthesis that follows. In that I first state whether I judge the proposed reading to be a simple correction (corr.), an emendation (em.), a conjecture (conj.), or, in one case, a diagnostic conjecture (diag. conj.). By the last I mean a conjecture that restores what I take to be the intended meaning of the author while recognizing that an alternative wording is possible. I maintain no clear-cut distinction between corrections, emendations, and conjectures. I intend thereby only to distinguish approximately between three levels of decreasing obviousness. Where the reading adopted is my own proposal no further information is added. Where it has been proposed by another I have given the surname of the proposer after the abbreviation (e.g. em. MIRASHI). These abbreviations, or abbreviations followed by a name, are followed by a single space, a colon, and a single space, after which I have given the reading that I have rejected. That is followed by an

abbreviation that indicates whether the source is the edition of the text (Ed.) or inscription (Ep.) listed in the bibliography, or the manuscript (Cod.) listed in the same. Where more than one manuscript has been cited, they are distinguished by the sigla assigned in the same. When I have given a translation of a passage in which I have rejected a reading or readings I indicate this in the translation only in the case of what I have classified as conjectures, e.g. \*Vidyēśvaras on the northern altar (conj.). Any testimonium is given in square brackets after the reading that it supports. In a few cases in which I have judged a word to have been lost I have inserted it between angle brackets (e.g. <ca>) and where I have judged that insertion to be less than certain I have followed it with a question mark (e.g. <svadharmā?>). In my translations I have marked the corresponding words in the same way. Where I can offer no cure but judge that the intended meaning can be deduced from the context I have given that meaning in my translation enclosed between a superscript asterisk and a question mark in parenthesis. Where I judge a reading to be corrupt but can offer no cure even on the level of meaning alone I have marked the beginning of the reading with a superscript asterisk followed by a question mark in parenthesis, and marked the corresponding place in my translation with a superscript asterisk followed by three dots and a question mark in parentheses. In general I have standardized the Sandhi and orthography of the Sanskrit in all citations, whether from texts or inscriptions. All translations of the text-passages that I have cited are my own.

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